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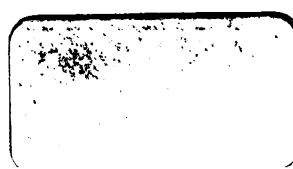

THE · · ·
CAVALIER
IN EXILE

NEWNES'
POCKET
CLASSICS

William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle,
and Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle.

THE CAVALIER IN EXILE

Being the Lives of the
FIRST DVKE & DVTCHESS
OF NEWCASTLE

Written by
MARGARET
DVTCHESS OF
NEWCASTLE

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
153-157 FIFTH AVENVE
MCMIII

Br 1934.5.20

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To His moſt Sacred Majesty Charles the Second

By the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

May it please Your Majesty,

HAVE, in confidence of your Gracious acceptance, taken the boldness, or rather the presumption, to dedicate to Your Majesty this short History (which is as full of Truths, as words) of the Actions and Sufferings of Your most Loyal Subject, my Lord and Husband (by Your Majesties late favour) Duke of *Newcastle;* who when Your Majesty was Prince of *Wales*, was Your most careful Governour, and honest Servant. Give me therefore leave to relate here, that I have heard him often say, He loves Your Royal Person so dearly, that He would most willingly, upon all occasions, sacrifice his Life and Posterity for Your Majesty: whom that Heaven will ever bless, is the Prayer of

Your most Obedient, Loyal,
humble Subject and Servant,

Margaret Newcastle.

To His Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle

My Noble Lord,

IT hath always been my hearty Prayer to God, since I have been your Wife, That first I might prove an honest and good Wife, whereof your Grace must be the onely Judg: Next, That God would be pleased to enable me to set forth and declare to after-ages, the truth of your loyal actions and endeavours, for the service of your King and Country; For the accomplishing of which design, I have followed the best and truest Observations of your Secretary John Rolleston, *and your Lordships own Relations, and have accordingly writ the History of your Lordships Life, which although I have endeavoured to render as perspicuous as ever I could, yet one thing I find hath much darkned it; which is, that your Grace commanded me not to mention any thing or passage to the prejudice or disgrace of any Family or particular person (although they might be of great truth, and would illustrate much the actions of your Life) which I have dutifully performed to satisfie your Lordship, whose Nature is so Generous, that you are as well pleased to*

obscure the faults of your Enemies, as you are to divulge the vertues of your Friends; And certainly, My Lord, you have had as many Enemies, and as many Friends, as ever any one particular person had; and I pray God to forgive the one, and prosper the other: Nor do I so much wonder at it, since I, a Woman, cannot be exempt from the malice and aspersions of spightful tongues, which they cast upon my poor Writings, some denying me to be the true Authoress of them; for your Grace remembers well, that those Books I put out first, to the judgment of this censorious Age, were accounted not to be written by a Woman, but that some body else had writ and publish'd them in my Name; by which your Lordship was moved to prefix an Epistle before one of them in my vindication, wherein you assure the world upon your honour, That what was written and printed in my name, was my own; and I have also made known, that your Lordship was my onely Tutor, in declaring to me what you had found and observed by your own experience; for I being young when your Lordship married me, could not have much knowledg of the world; But it pleased God to command his Servant Nature to indue me with a Poetical and Philosophical Genius, even from my Birth; for I did write some Books in that kind, before I was twelve years of Age, which for want of good method and order, I would never divulge. But though the world would

not believe that those Conceptions and Fancies which I writ, were my own, but transcended my capacity, yet they found fault, that they were defective for want of Learning; and on the other side, they said I had pluckt Feathers out of the Universities; which was a very preposterous judgment. Truly, My Lord, I confess that for want of Scholarship, I could not express my self so well as otherwise I might have done, in those Philosophical Writings I publish'd first; but after I was returned with your Lordship into my Native Country, and led a retired Country life, I applied my self to the reading of Philosophical Authors, of purpose to learn those names and words of Art that are used in Schools; which at first were so hard to me, that I could not understand them, but was fain to guess at the sense of them by the whole context, and so writ them down as I found them in those Authors, at which my Readers did wonder, and thought it impossible that a Woman could have so much Learning and Understanding in Terms of Art, and Scholastical Expressions; so that I and my Books are like the old Apologue mention'd in Æsop, *of a Father, and his Son, who rid on an Ass through a Town when his Father went on Foot, at which sight the People shouted and cried shame, that a young Boy should ride, and let his Father, an old man, go on Foot: whereupon the old Man got upon the Ass, and let his Son go by; but when they came*

to the next Town, the People exclaimed against the Father, that he a lusty man should ride, and have no more pity of his young and tender child, but let him go on foot: Then both the Father and his Son got upon the Ass, and coming to the third Town, the People blamed them both for being so unconscionable as to over-burden the poor Ass with their heavy weight: After this both Father and Son went on foot, and led the Ass; and when they came to the fourth Town, the People railed as much at them as ever the former had done, and called them both Fools, for going on foot, when they had a Beast able to carry them. The old Man, seeing he could not please Mankind in any manner, and having received so many blemishes and aspersions, for the sake of his Ass, was at last resolved to drown him when he came to the next bridg. But I am not so passionate to burn my Writings for the various humours of Mankind, and for their finding fault, since there is nothing in this world, be it the noblest and most commendable action whatsoever, that shall escape blameless. As for my being the true and onely Authoress of them, your Lordship knows best, and my attending Servants are witness that I have had none but my own Thoughts, Fancies and Speculations to assist me; and as soon as I have set them down, I send them to those that are to transcribe them, and fit them for the Press; whereof since there have been several, and

amongst them such as onely could write a good hand, but neither understood Orthography, nor had any Learning (I being then in banishment with your Lordship, and not able to maintain learned Secretaries) which hath been a great disadvantage to my poor works, and the cause that they have been printed so false, and so full of Errors; for besides that, I want also the skill of Scholarship and true writing, I did many times not peruse the Copies that were transcribed, lest they should disturb my following Conceptions; by which neglect, as I said, many Errors are slipt into my Works, which yet I hope Learned and Impartial Readers will soon rectifie, and look more upon the sense, then carp at words. I have been a Student even from my Childhood; and since I have been your Lordships Wife, I have lived for the most part a strict and retired Life, as is best known to your Lordship, and therefore my Censurers cannot know much of me, since they have little or no acquaintance with me: 'Tis true, I have been a Traveller both before and after I was married to your Lordship, and sometimes shew my self at your Lordships Command in Publick places or Assemblies; but yet I converse with few. Indeed, My Lord, I matter not the Censures of this Age, but am rather proud of them; for it shews that my Actions are more then ordinary, and according to the old Proverb, It is better to be Envied, then Pitied: *for I know*

well, that it is meerly out of spight and malice, whereof this present Age is so full, that none can escape them, and they'l make no doubt to stain even Your Lordships Loyal, Noble and Heroick Actions, as well as they do mine, though yours have been of War and Fighting, mine of Contemplating and Writing: Yours were performed publickly in the Field, mine privately in my Closet: Yours had many thousand Eye-witnesses, mine none but my Waiting-maids. But the Great God that hath hitherto bless'd both Your Grace and me, will, I question not, preserve both our Fames to after Ages, for which we shall be bound most humbly to acknowledg his great Mercy; and I my self, as long as I live, be

Your Graces Honest Wife,
and Humble Servant
M. NEWCASTLE.

The Preface

WHEN I first Intended to write this History, knowing my self to be no Scholar, and as ignorant of the Rules of Writing Histories, as I have in my other Works acknowledg'd my self to be of the Names and Terms of Art; I desired my Lord, That he would be pleased to let me have some Elegant and Learned Historian to assist me; which request his Grace would not grant me; saying, That having never had any Assistance in the writing of my former Books, I should have no other in the writing of his Life, but the Informations from himself, and his Secretary, of the chief Transactions and Fortunes occurring in it, to the time he married me. I humbly answer'd, That without a learned Assistant, the History would be defective: But he replied, That Truth could not be defective. I said again, That Rhetorick did adorn Truth: And he answer'd, That Rhetorick was fitter for Falshoods then Truths. Thus I was forced by his Graces Commands, to write this History in my own plain Style, without elegant Flourishings, or exquisit

Method, relying intirely upon Truth, in the expressing whereof, I have been very circumspect; as knowing well, that his Graces Actions have so much Glory of their own, that they need borrow none from any bodies Industry.

Many Learned Men, I know, have published Rules and Directions concerning the Method and Style of Histories, and do with great noise, to little purpose, make loud exclamations against those Historians, that keeping close to the Truth of their Narrations, cannot think it necessary to follow slavishly such Instructions; and there is some Men of good Understandings, as I have heard, that applaud very much several Histories, meerly for their Elegant Style, and well-observ'd Method; setting a high value upon feigned Orations, mystical Designs, and fancied Policies, which are, at the best, but pleasant Romances. Others approve, in the Relations of Wars, and of Military Actions, such tedious Descriptions, that the Reader, tired with them, will imagine that there was more time spent in Assaulting, Defending, and taking of a Fort, or a petty Garison, then *Alexander* did employ in conquering the greatest part of the World: which proves, That such Historians regard more their own Eloquence, Wit and Industry, and the knowledg they believe to have of the Actions of War, and of all manner of Governments, than of the

truth of the History, which is the main thing, and wherein consists the hardest task, very few Historians knowing the Transactions they write of, and much less the Counsels, and secret Designs of many different Parties, which they confidently mention.

Although there be many sorts of Histories, yet these three are the chiefest: 1. a General History. 2. A National History. 3. A Particular History. Which three sorts may, not unfitly, be compared to the three sorts of Governments, Democracy, Aristocracy, and Monarchy. The first is the History of the known parts and people of the World; The second is the History of a particular Nation, Kingdom or Commonwealth. The third is the History of the life and actions of some particular Person. The first is profitable for Travellers, Navigators and Merchants; the second is pernicious, by reason it teaches subtil Policies, begets Factions, not onely between particular Families and Persons, but also between whole Nations, and great Princes, rubbing old sores, and renewing old Quarrels, that would otherwise have been forgotten. The last is the most secure; because it goes not out of its own Circle, but turns on its own Axis, and for the most part, keeps within the Circumference of Truth. The first is Mechanical, the second Political, and the third Heroical. The first should

onely be written by Travellers, and Navigators; The second by Statesmen; The third by the Prime Actors, or the Spectators of those Affairs and Actions of which they write, as *Cæsars* Commentaries are, which no Pen but of such an Author, who was also Actor in the particular Occurrences, private Intrigues, secret Counsels, close Designs, and rare Exploits of War he relates, could ever have brought to so high Perfection.

This History is of the Third sort, as that is; and being of the Life and Actions of my Noble Lord and Husband, who hath informed me of all the particular passages I have recorded, I cannot, though neither Actor, nor Spectator, be thought ignorant of the Truth of what I write; Nor is it inconsistent with my being a Woman, to write of Wars, that was neither between *Medes* and *Persians*, *Greeks* and *Trojans*, *Christians* and *Turks*; but among my own Countreymen, whose Customs and Inclinations, and most of the Persons that held any considerable Place in the Armies, was well known to me; and besides all that (which is above all) my Noble and Loyal Lord did act a chief Part in that fatal Tragedy, to have defended (if humane power could have done it) his most Gracious Soveraign, from the fury of his Rebellious Subjects.

This History being (as I have said) of a particular Person, his Actions, and

Fortunes; it cannot be expected, that I should here Preach of the beginning of the World; nor seem to express understanding in the Politicks, by tedious moral Discourses, with long Observations upon the several sorts of Government that have been in *Greece* & *Rome*, and upon others more modern; I will neither endeavour to make show of Eloquence, making Speeches that never was spoken, nor pretend to great skill in War, by making Mountains of Mole-hills, and telling Romansical Falshoods for Historical Truths; and much less will I write to amuse my Readers, in a mystical and allegorical Style, of the disloyal Actions of the opposite Party, of the Treacherous Cowardise, Envy and Malice of some Persons, my Lords Enemies, and of the ingratitude of some of his seeming Friends; wherein I cannot better obey his Lordships Commands to conceal those things, then in leaving them quite out, as I do, with submission to his Lordships desire, from whom I have learn'd Patience to overcome my Passions, and Discretion to yield to his Prudence.

Thus am I resolved to write, in a natural plain style, without Latin Sentences, moral Instructions, politick Designs, feigned Orations, or envious and malicious Exclamations, this short History of the Loyal, Heroick and Prudent Actions of my Noble Lord, as also of his Sufferings, Losses,

and ill-Fortunes, which in honour and Conscience I could not suffer to be buried in silence; nor could I have undertaken so hard a task, had not my love to his Person, and to Truth, been my Encourager and Supporter.

I might have made this Book larger, in transcribing (as is ordinary in Histories) the several Letters, full of Affection, and kind promises he received from His Gracious Soveraign, *Charles* the First, and from his Royal Consort, in the time he was in the Actions of War, as also since the War, from his dear Soveraign and Master, *Charles* the Second; But many of the former Letters having been lost, when all was lost; I thought it best, seeing I had not them all, to print none. As for Orations, which is another way of swelling the bulk of Histories; it is certain, that My Lord made not many; chusing rather to fight, then to talk; and his Declarations having been printed already, it had been superfluous to insert them in these Narrations.

This Book would however, have been a great Volume, if his Grace would have given me leave to publish his Enemies Actions; But being to write of his own onely, I do it briefly and truly; and not as many have done, who have written of the late Civil War, with but few sprinklings of Truth, like as Heat-drops upon a dry barren Ground knowing no more of the

Transactions of those Times, then what they learned in the Gazets, which, for the most part, (out of Policy to amuse and deceive the People) contain nothing but Falshoods and Chimeraes; and were such Parasites, that after the Kings Party was overpowred, the Government among the Rebels changing from one Faction to another, they never miss'd to exalt highly the Merits of the Chief Commanders of the then prevailing side, comparing some of them to *Moses*, and some others to all the great and most famous Heroes, both Greeks and Romans; wherein, unawares, they exceedingly commended my Noble Lord; for if those Ring-leaders of Factions were so great men as they are reported to be, by those Time-servers, How much greater must his Lordship be, who beat most of them, except the Earl of *Essex*, whose employment was never in the Northern parts, where all the rest of the greatest strength of the Parliament was sent, to oppose my Lord's Forces, which was the greatest the Kings Party had any where.

Good Fortune is such an Idol of the World, and is so like the golden Calf worshipped by the Israelites, that those Arch-Rebels never wanted Astrologers to foretel them good success in all their Enterprises, nor Poets to sing their Praises, nor Orators for Panegyricks; nay, which is worse, nor Historians neither, to record their Valour in fighting, and Wisdom in

Governing. But being, so much as I am, above base Profit, or any Preferment whatsoever, I cannot fear to be suspected of Flattery, in declaring to the World the Merits, Wealth, Power, Loyalty, and Fortunes of My Noble Lord, who hath done great Actions, suffered great Losses, endured a long Banishment, for his Loyalty to his King and Countrey; and leads now, like another *Scipio*, a quiet Countrey-life. If notwithstanding all this, any should say, That those who write Histories of themselves, and their own actions, or of their own Party, or instruct and inform those that write them, are partial to themselves; I answer, That it is very improbable, Worthy Persons, who having done Great, Noble and Heroick Exploits, deserving to be recorded, should be so vain, as to write false Histories; but if they do, it proves but their Folly; for Truth can never be concealed, and so it will be more for their disgrace, then for their Honour or Fame. I fear not any such blemishes in this present History, for I am not conscious of any such Crime as Partiality or Falshood, but write it whilest My Noble Lord is yet alive, and at such a time where Truth may be declared, and Falshood contradicted; and I challenge any one (although I be a Woman) to contradict any thing that I have set down, or prove it to be otherwise then Truth; for be there

never so many Contradictions, Truth will conquer all at last.

Concerning My Lords Actions in War, which are comprehended in the first Book, the relation of them I have chiefly from my Lords Secretary Mr. *Rolleston*, a Person that has been an Eye-witness thereof, and accompanied My Lord as Secretary in his Army, and gave out all his Commissions; his honesty and worth is unquestionable by all that know him. And as for the Second Book, which contains My Lords Actions and Sufferings, during the time of his Exile, I have set down so much as I could possibly call to mind, without any particular Expression of time, onely from the time of his Banishment, or rather (what I can remember) from the time of my Marriage, till our return into *England*. To the end of which I have joined a Computation of My Lord's Losses, which he hath suffered by those unfortunate Warres. In the third Book I have set down some particular Chapters concerning the Description of his Person, his Natural Faculties, and Personal Vertues, *&c.* And in the last, some Essayes and Discourses of My Lords, together with some Notes and Remarques of mine own; which I thought most convenient to place by themselves at the end of this Work, rather then to intermingle them with the Body of the History.

It might be some prejudice to my Lord's Glory, and the credit of this History, not to take notice of a very considerable thing I have heard, which is, That when his Lordship's Army had got so much Strength and Reputation, that the Rebellious Parliament finding themselves overpower'd with it, rather then to be utterly ruin'd, (as was unavoidable) did call the *Scots* to their Assistance, with a promise to reward so great a Service, with the Four Northern Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, which I have not mention'd in the Book.

And it is most certain, That the Parliaments Forces were never Powerful, nor their Commanders or Officers Famous, until such time as my Lord was overpower'd; neither could Loyalty have been overpower'd by Rebellion, had not Treachery had better Fortune then Prudence.

When I speak of my Lord's Pedigree, where *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, Grandfather to the now Duke of *Norfolk*, is mention'd, they have left out *William* Viscount *Stafford*, one of his Sons, who did marry the Heir of the last Baron *Stafford*, descended from the Dukes of *Buckingham;* which was set down in my Original Manuscript.

Some of those Omissions, and very

probably others, are happened. partly for want of timely Information, and chiefly by the death of my Secretary, who did copy my Writings for the Press, and dy'd in *London*, attending that Service, afore the Printing of the Book was quite finish'd. And as I hope of your Favour to be excus'd for omitting those things in the Book; so I expect of your Justice to be approv'd in putting them here, though somewhat unseasonably.

Before I end this Preface, I do beseech my Readers not to mistake me when I speak of my Lord's Banishment, as if I would conceal that he went voluntarily out of his Native Country; for it is most true, that his Lordship prudently perceiving all the King's Party lost, not onely in *England*, but also in *Scotland* and *Ireland;* and that it was impossible to withstand the Rebels, after the fatal overthrow of his Army; his Lordship, in a poor and mean condition quitted his own Countrey, and went beyond Sea; soon after which, the Rebels having got an Absolute Power, and granted a general Pardon to all those that would come in to them, upon composition, at the Rates they had set down, his Lordship, with but few others, was excepted from it, both for Life and Estate, and did remain thus banish'd till His Majesties happy Restauration.

I must also acknowledg, That I have

committed great Errors in taking no notice of Times as I should have done in many places of this History: I mention in one place the Queen Mothers being in *France*, when my Lord went thither, but do not say in what year that was: Nor do I express when His Majesty (our now Gracious Soveraign) came in, and went out again several times from that Kingdom, which has happen'd for want of Memory, and I desire my Readers to excuse me for it.

No body can certainly be more ready to find faults in this Work, then I am to confess them; being very conscious that I have, as I told my Lord I should, committed many for want of Learning, and chiefly of skill in writing Histories: But having, according to his Lordships Commands, written his Actions and Fortunes truly and plainly, I have reason to expect, that whatsoever else shall be found amiss, will be favourably pardoned by the candid Readers, to whom I wish all manner of happiness.

An Epiſtle to Her Grace the Duchess of Newcaſtle

May it please your Grace,

HAVE been taught, and do believe, That Obedience is better then Sacrifice; and know, that both are due from me to your Grace; and since I have been so long in obeying your Commands, I shall not presume to use any Arguments for my excuse, but rather chuse ingeniously to confess my fault, and beg your Graces Pardon. And because forgiveness is a Glory to the supreamest Powers, I will hope that your Grace by that great example will make it yours. And now I humbly take leave to represent to your Grace, as faithfully and truly as my memory will serve me, all my Observations of the most memorable Actions, and honourable Deportments of His Grace, my most Noble Lord and Master, William *Duke of* Newcastle, *in the Execution and Performance of the Trusts and high Employments committed and commended to his care and charge by three Kings of* England; *that is to say, King* James, *King* Charles *the First, of ever blessed Memory; and our Gracious King,* Charles

the Second; under whom he hath had the happiness to live, and the honour to serve them in several capacities: And because I humbly conceive, that it is not within the intention of your Graces Commands, that I should give you a particular Relation of His Graces High Birth, his Noble and Princely Education and Breeding, both at home and abroad; his Natural Faculties, and Personal Vertues; his Justice, Bounty, Charity, Friendship; his Right Approved Courage, and True Valour, not grounded upon, or govern'd by Passion, but Reason; his Magnificent manner of living and supporting his Dignity, testified by his great Entertainments of their Majesties, and his private Friends, upon all fit occasions, besides his ordinary and constant Housekeeping and Attendants; some for Honour, and some for business, wherein he exceeded most of his Quality; and that he was, and is an incomparable Master to his Servants, is sufficiently testified by all or most of the chiefest of them, living and dying in His Graces Service, which is an Argument that they thought themselves as happy therein, as the World could make them; nor of his well-chosen Pleasures, which were principally Horses of all sorts, but more particularly Horses of Mannage; His Study and Art of the true use of the Sword; His Magnificent Buildings. These are his chiefest Delights, wherein his

Grace spared for no cost nor charge, which are sufficiently manifested to the World; for other Delights, as those of running Horses, Hawking, Hunting, &c. His Grace used them meerly for societies sake, and out of a generous and obliging Nature to please others, though his knowledg in them excelled, as well as in the other. And yet notwithstanding these his large and vast expences, before his Grace was called to the Court, he encreased his Revenue by way of Purchase to a great value; and when he was called to the Court, he was then free from Debts, and, as I have heard, some Thousands of Pounds in his Purse. These Particulars, and as many more of this kind as would swell a Volume, I could enumerate to your Grace; but that they are so well known to your Grace, it would be a Presumption in me, rather then a Service, to give your Grace that trouble; and therefore I humbly forbear, and proceed, according to my Intention, to give your Grace a faithful account of Your Graces Commands, as becomes

May it please your Grace,
Your Graces most humble,
and most obedient Servant,

John Rolleston.

The Life of the Moſt Illuſtrious Prince, William Duke of Newcaſtle

THE FIRST BOOK

SINCE my chief intent in this present Work, is to describe the Life and Actions of My Noble Lord and Husband, *William, Duke of Newcastle*, I shall do it with as much Brevity, Perspicuity and Truth, as is required of an Impartial Historian. The History of his Pedigree I shall refer to the Heralds, and partly give you an account thereof at the latter end of this work; onely thus much I shall now mention, as will be requisite for the better understanding of the following discourse.

His Grandfather by his Fathers side was Sir *William Cavendish*, Privy Counsellour and Treasurer of the Chamber to King *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*. His Grandfather by his Mother was *Cuthbert* Lord *Ogle*, an ancient Baron. His Father Sir *Charles Cavendish* was the youngest son to Sir *William*, and had no other Children but three Sons, whereof My Lord was the Second; but his elder Brother dying in his Infancy, left both his Title and Birthright to My Lord, so that My Lord had then but one onely Brother left, whose name was *Charles* after his Father, whereas My Lord had the name of his Grandfather.

These two Brothers were partly bred with

Gilbert Earl of *Shrewsbury* their Uncle in Law, and their Aunt *Mary*, Countess of *Shrewsbury*, *Gilbert's* Wife, and Sister to their Father, for there interceded an intire and constant Friendship between the said *Gilbert*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and My Lord's Father, Sir *Charles Cavendish*, caused not onely by the marriage of My Lord's Aunt, his Fathers Sister, to the aforesaid *Gilbert*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and by the marriage of *George*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Gilbert's* Father, with My Lord's Grandmother, by his Fathers side; but Sir *Charles Cavendish*, My Lord's Father, and *Gilbert*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, being brought up and bred together in one Family, and grown up as parts of one body, after they came to be beyond Children, and travelled together into foreign Countries, to observe the Fashions, Laws, and Customs of other Nations, contracted such an intire Friendship which lasted to their death: neither did they out-live each other long, for My Lord's Father, Sir *Charles Cavendish*, lived but one year after *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

But both My Lords Parents, and his Aunt and Uncle in Law, shewed always a great and fond love to My Lord, endeavouring, when He was but a Child, to please him with what he most delighted in. When He was grown to the Age of fifteen or sixteen, he was made Knight of the *Bath*, an ancient and honourable Order, at the time when *Henry*, King *James*, of blessed Memory, His eldest Son was created Prince of *Wales*: and soon after he went to travel with Sir *Henry Wotton*, who

was sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to the then *Duke* of *Savoy*; which Duke made very much of My Lord, and when he would be free in Feasting, placed Him next to himself. Before My Lord did return with the Ambassador into *England*, the said Duke profer'd My Lord, that if he would stay with him, he would not onely confer upon him the best Titles of Honour he could, but also give him an honourable Command in War, although My Lord was but young, for the Duke had then some designs of War. But the Ambassador, who had taken the care of My Lord, would not leave Him behind without his Parents consent.

At last, when My Lord took his leave of the Duke, the Duke being a very generous person, presented Him with a *Spanish* Horse, a Saddle very richly embroidered, and with a rich Jewel of Diamonds.

Some time after My Lord's return into *England*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury* died, and left My Lord, though he was then but young, and about Twenty two years of age, his Executor; a year after, his Father Sir *Charles Cavendish*, died also. His Mother, being then a Widow, was desirous that My Lord should marry: in obedience to whose Commands, he chose a Wife both to his own good liking, and his Mothers approving; who was Daughter and Heir to *William Basset* of *Blore* Esq.; a very honourable and ancient Family in *Staffordshire*, by whom was added a great part to His Estate, as hereafter shall be mentioned. After My Lord was married, he lived, for the most

part, in the Country, and pleased Himself and his neighbours with Hospitality, and such delights as the Country afforded ; onely now and then he would go up to *London* for some short time to wait on the King.

About this time King *James*, of blessed memory, having a purpose to confer some Honour upon My Lord, made him Viscount *Mansfield*, and Baron of *Bolsover ;* and after the decease of King *James*, King *Charles* the First, of blessed Memory, constituted him Lord Warden of the Forrest of *Sherewood*, and Lieutenant of *Nottingham-shire*, and restored his Mother *Catharine*, the second Daughter of *Cuthbert* Lord *Ogle*, to her Fathers Dignity, after the death of her onely Sister *Jane* Countess of *Shrewsbury*, publickly declaring, that it was her Right ; which Title after the death of his Mother, descended also upon My Lord, and his Heirs General, together with a large Inheritance of 3,000 l. a year, in *Northumberland*.

About the same time, after the decease of *William*, late Earl of *Devonshire*, his Noble Cousin German, My Lord was by his said Majesty made Lord Lieutenant of *Derby-shire ;* which trust and honour, after he had enjoyed for several years, and managed it, like as all other offices put to his Trust, with all possible care, faithfulness and dexterity, during the time of the said Earls Son, *William*, the now Earl of *Devonshire*, his Minority, as soon as this same Earl was come to age, and by Law made capable of that trust, he willingly and freely resign'd it into his hands, he having hitherto kept it onely

for him, that he and no body else might succeed his Father in that dignity.

In these, and all other both publick and private imployments, My Lord hath ever been careful to keep up the Kings Rights to the uttermost of his power, to strengthen those mentioned Counties with Ammunition, and to administer Justice to every one; for he refused no man's Petition, but sent all that came to him, either for relief or justice, away from him fully satisfied.

Not long after his being made Lieutenant of *Nottingham-shire*, there was found so great a defect of Armes and Ammunition in that County, that the Lords of the Council being advertised thereof, as the manner then was, His Majesty commanded a levy to be made upon the whole County for the supply thereof; whereupon the sum of 500 l. or thereabout, was accordingly levied for that purpose, and three Persons of Quality, then Deputy Lieutenants, were desired by My Lord to receive the money, and see it disposed; which being done accordingly, and a certain account rendered to My Lord, he voluntarily ordered the then Clerk of the Peace of that County, That the same account should be recorded amongst the Sessions Roles, and be published in open Sessions, to the end that the Country might take notice how their monies were disposed of, for which act of Justice My Lord was highly commended.

Within some few years after, King *Charles* the First, of blessed Memory, His Gracious Soveraign, in regard of His true and faithful service to his King and Country, was pleased

to honour him with the Title of *Earl of Newcastle*, and *Baron of Bothal* and *Heple*; which Title he graced so much by His Noble Actions and Deportments, that some seven years after, which was in the Year 1638, His Majesty called him up to Court, and thought Him the fittest Person whom He might intrust with the Government of His Son *Charles*, then Prince of *Wales*, now our most Gracious King, and made him withal a Member of the Lords of His Majesties most honourable Privy Council; which, as it was a great Honour and Trust, so He spared no care and industry to discharge His Duty accordingly; and to that end, left all the care of governing his own Family and Estate, with all Fidelity attending His Master not without considerable Charges, and vast Expences of his own.

In this present Employment He continued for the space of three Years, during which time there happened an Insurrection and Rebellion of His Majesties discontented Subjects in *Scotland*, which forced His Majesty to raise an Army, to reduce them to their Obedience, and His Treasury being at that time exhausted he was necessitated to desire some supply and assistance of the Noblest and Richest of his Loyal Subjects; amongst the rest, My Lord lent His Majesty 10000 l. and raised Himself a Voluntier-Troop of Horse, which consisted of 120 Knights and Gentlemen of Quality, who marched to *Berwick* by His Majesties Command, where it pleased His Majesty to set this mark of Honour upon that Troop, that

it should be Independent, and not commanded by any General Officer, but onely by his Majesty Himself; The reason thereof was upon this following occasion.

His Majesties whole body of Horse, being commanded to march into *Scotland* against the Rebels, a place was appointed for their Rendezvous; Immediately upon their meeting, My Lord sent a Gentleman of Quality of his Troop to His Majesties then General of the Horse, to know where his Troop should march; who returned this answer, That it was to march next after the Troops of the General Officers of the Field. My Lord conceiving that his Troop ought to march in the Van, and not in the Rear, sent the same Messenger back again to the General, to inform him, That he had the honour to march with the Princes Colours, and therefore he thought it not fit to march under any of the Officers of the Field; yet nevertheless the General ordered that Troop as he had formerly directed. Whereupon, My Lord thinking it unfit at that time to dispute the business, immediately commanded his Cornet to take off the Princes Colours from his staff, and so marched in the place appointed, choosing rather to march without his Colours flying, then to lessen his Masters dignity by the command of any subject.

Immediately after the return from that expedition to his Majesties Leaguer, the General made a complaint thereof to his Majesty; who being truly informed of the business, commended my Lords discretion for it, and from that time ordered

that Troop to be commanded by none but himself. Thus they remain'd upon duty, *without receiving any payment or allowance from His Majesty*, until His Majesty had reduced his Rebellious Subjects, and then My Lord returned with honour to his Charge, *viz.* The Government of the Prince.

At last when the whole Army was disbanded, then, and not before, my Lord thought it a fit Time to exact an account from the said General for the affront he pass'd upon him, and sent him a Challenge; the place and hour being appointed by both their Consents, where and when to meet, My Lord appear'd there with his Second, but found not his Opposite: After some while his Opposite's Second came all alone, by whom my Lord perceiv'd that their Design had been discover'd to the King by some of his Opposite's Friends, who presently caused them both to be confined until he had made their Peace.

My Lord having hitherto attended the Prince, his Master, with all faithfulness and duty befitting so great an Employment, for the space of three years, in the beginning of that Rebellious and unhappy Parliament, which was the cause of all the ruines and misfortunes that afterwards befell this Kingdom, was privately advertised, that the Parliaments Design was to take the Government of the Prince from Him, which he apprehending as a disgrace to Himself, wisely prevented, and obtained the Consent of His late Majesty, with His Favour, to deliver up the Charge of being Governor

to the Prince, and retire into the Countrey; which he did in the beginning of the Year 1641, and setled himself, with his Lady, Children and Family, to his great satisfaction, with an intent to have continued there, and rested under his own Vine, and managed his own Estate; but he had not enjoyed himself long, but an Express came to him from His Majesty, who was then unjustly and unmannerly treated by the said Parliament, to repair with all possible speed and privacy to *Kingston* upon *Hull*, where the greatest part of His Majesties Ammunition and Arms then remained in that Magazine, it being the most considerable place for strength in the Northern parts of the Kingdom.

Immediately upon the receipt of these His Majesties Orders and Commands, my Lord prepared for their execution, and about Twelve of the Clock at night, hastned from his own house when his Familie were all at their rest, save two or three Servants which he appointed to attend him. The next day early in the morning he arrived at *Hull*, in the quality of a private Gentleman, which place was distant from his house forty miles; and none of his Family that were at home, knew what was become of him, till he sent an Express to his Lady to inform her where he was.

Thus being admitted into the Town, he fell upon his intended Design, and brought it to so hopeful an issue for His Majesties Service, that he wanted nothing but His Majesties further Commission and Pleasure to have secured both the Town and Magazine

for His Majesties use: and to that end by a speedy Express gave His Majesty, who was then at *Windsor*, an account of all his Transactions therein, together with his Opinion of them, hoping His Majesty would have been pleased either to come thither in Person, which He might have done with much security, or at least have sent him a Commission and Orders how he should do His Majesty further Service.

But instead thereof he received Orders from His Majesty to observe such Directions as he should receive from the Parliament then sitting: Whereupon he was summoned personally to appear at the House of Lords, and a Committee chosen to examine the Grounds and Reasons of his undertaking that Design; but my Lord shewed them his Commission, and that it was done in obedience to His Majesties Commands, and so was cleared of that Action.

Not long after, my Lord obtained the freedom from His Majesty to retire again to his Countrey Life, which he did with much alacrity: He had not remained many months there, but His Majesty was forced by the fury of the said Parliament, to repair in Person to *York*, and to send the Queen beyond the seas for her safety.

No sooner was His Majesty arrived at *York* but he sent his Commands to my Lord to come thither to him; which, according to his wonted custom and loyalty, he readily obeyed, and after a few days spent there in Consultation, His Majesty was pleased to Command him to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, to

take upon him the Government of that Town, and the four Counties next adjoining; that is to say, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham;* which my Lord did accordingly, although he wanted Men, Money and Ammunition, for the performance of that design; for when he came thither he neither found any Military provision considerable for the undertaking that work, nor generally any great encouragement from the people in those parts, more then what his own interest created in them: Nevertheless, he thought it his duty rather to hazard all, then to neglect the Commands of His Soveraign; and resolved to shew his Fidelity, by nobly setting all at stake, as he did, though he well knew how to have secured himself, as too many others did, either by Neutrality or adhering to the Rebellious Party; but his Honour and Loyalty was too great to be stained with such foul adherencies.

As soon as my Lord came to *Newcastle*, in the first place he sent for all his Tenants and Friends in those parts, and presently raised a Troop of Horse consisting of 120, and a Regiment of Foot, and put them under Command, and upon duty and exercise in the Town of *Newcastle;* and with this small beginning took the Government of that place upon him; where with the assistance of the Towns-men, particularly the Mayor, (whom by the power of his Forces, he continued Mayor for the year following, he being a person of much trust and fidelity, as he approved himself) and the rest of his

Brethren, within few days he fortified the Town, and raised men daily, and put a Garrison of Soldiers into *Tinmouth*-Castle, standing upon the River *Tyne*, betwixt *Newcastle* and the Sea, to secure that Port, and armed the Soldiers as well as he could : And thus he stood upon his Guard, and continued them upon Duty ; playing his weak Game with much Prudence, and giving the Town and Country very great satisfaction by his noble and honourable Deportment.

In the mean time, there happened a great mutiny of the Trainband Souldiers of the Bishoprick at *Durham*, so that my Lord was forced to remove thither in Person, attended with some forces to appease them ; where at his arrival (I mention it by the way, and as a merry passage) a jovial Fellow used this expression, That he liked my Lord very well, but not his Company (meaning his Soldiers).

After my Lord had reduced them to their obedience and duty, he took great care of the Church Government in the said Bishoprick (as he did no less in all other places committed to his Care and Protection, well knowing that Schism and Faction in Religion is the Mother of all or most Rebellions, Wars and Disturbances in a State or Government) and constituted that Learned and Eminent Divine the then Dean of *Peterborough*, now Lord-Bishop of *Durham*, to view all Sermons that were to be Preached, and suffer nothing in them that in the least reflected against His Majesties Person and Government, but to put forth and add whatsoever he thought convenient, and punish those that should

trespass against it. In which that worthy Person used so much care and industry, that never the Church could be more happily govern'd then it was at that present.

Some short time after, my Lord received from Her Majesty the Queen, out of *Holland* a small supply of Money, *viz.* a little barrel of Ducatoons, which amounted to about 500 l. *Sterling;* which my Lord distributed amongst the Officers of his new raised Army, to encourage them the better in their service; as also some Armes, the most part whereof were consigned to his late Majesty; and those that were ordered to be conveyed to his Majesty, were sent accordingly, conducted by that onely Troop of Horse, which my Lord had newly raised, with orders to return again to him; but it seems His Majesty liked the Troop so well, that he was pleased to command their stay to recruit his own Army.

About the same time the King of *Denmark* was likewise pleased to send His Majesty a Ship, which arrived at *Newcastle*, laden with some Ammunition, Armes, Regiment Pieces, and *Danish* Clubs; which my Lord kept for the furnishing of some Forces which he intended to raise for His Majesties service; for he perceiving the flames increase more and more in both the Houses of Parliament then sitting at *Westminster*, against his Majesties Person and Government; upon Consultation with his Friends and Allies, and the interest he had in those Northern parts, took a resolution to raise an Army for His Majesties service, and by an express ac-

quainted His Majesty with his design; who was so well pleased with it, that he sent him Commissions for that purpose, to constitute him General of all the Forces raised and to be raised in all the parts of the Kingdom, *Trent-North*, and moreover in the several Counties of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, *Leicester*, *Rutland*, *Cambridg*, *Huntington*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Essex*, and Commander in Chief for the same; as also to impower and authorize him to confer the honour of Knighthood upon such Persons as he should conceive deserved it, and to coin Money and Print whensoever he saw occasion for it. Which as it was not onely a great Honour, but a great Trust and Power; so he used it with much discretion and wisdom, onely in such occurrencies, where he found it tending to the advancement of His Majesties Service, and conferr'd the honour of Knighthood sparingly, and but on such persons whose Valiant and Loyal Actions did justly deserve it, so that he Knighted in all to the number of Twelve.

Within a short time, my Lord formed an Army of 8000 Foot, Horse and Dragoons, and put them into a condition to march in the beginning of *November*, 1642. No sooner was this effected, but the Insurrection grew high in *York-shire*, in so much, that most of His Majesties good subjects of that County, as well the Nobility as Gentry, were forced for the preservation of their persons, to retire to the City of *York*, a walled Town, but of no great strength; and hearing that my Lord

had not onely kept those Counties in the Northen parts generally faithful to his Majesty, but raised an Army for His Majesties Interest, and the protection of his good subjects ; thought it convenient to employ and authorise some persons of Quality to attend upon my Lord, and treat with him on their behalf, that he would be pleased to give them the assistance of his Army, which my Lord granted them upon such Terms as did highly advance His Majesties Service, which was my Lords chief and onely aim.

Thus my Lord being with his Army invited into *York-shire*, He prepared for it with all the speed that the nature of that business could possibly permit ; and after he had fortified the Town of *Newcastle*, *Tynmouth-castle*, *Hartlepool* (a Haven Town) and some other necessary Garisons in those parts, and Mann'd, Victuall'd and order'd their constant supply, He thought it fit in the first place, before he did march, to manifest to the World by a Declaration in Print, the reasons and grounds of his undertaking that design ; which were in General, for the preservation of His Majesties Person and Government, and the defence of the Orthodox Church of *England ;* where He also satisfied those that murmur'd for my Lords receiving into his Army such as were of the Catholick Religion, and then he presently marched with his Army into *York-shire* to their assistance, and within the time agreed upon, came to *York*, notwithstanding the Enemies Forces gave him all the interruption they possibly could, at several passes ; whereof

the chief was at *Pierce-bridg*, at the entering into *York-shire*, where 1500 of the Enemies Forces, Commanded in chief by Col. *Hotham*, were ready to interrupt my Lord's Forces, sent thither to secure that passe, consisting of a Regiment of Dragoons, commanded by Colonel *Thomas Howard*, and a Regiment of Foot, Commanded by Sir *William Lambton*, which they performed with so much Courage, that they routed the Enemy, and put them to flight, although the said Col. *Howard* in that Charge lost his life by an unfortunate shot.

The Enemy thus missing of their design, fled until they met with a conjunction of their whole Forces at *Tadcaster*, some eight miles distant from *York*, and my Lord went on without any other considerable Interruption. Being come to *York*, he drew up his whole Army before the Town, both Horse and Foot, where the Commander in Chief, the then Earl of *Cumberland*, together with the Gentry of the Country, came to wait on my Lord, and the then Governor of *York*, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, presented him with the Keys of the City.

Thus my Lord marched into the Town with great joy, and to the general satisfaction both of the Nobility and Gentry, and most of the Citizens; and immediately without any delay, in the later end of *December* 1642, fell upon Consultations how he might best proceed to serve his King and Country; and particularly, how his Army should be maintained and paid, (as he did also afterwards in every Country wheresoever he marched)

well knowing, that no Army can be governed without being constantly and regularly supported by provision and pay. Whereupon it was agreed, That the Nobility and Gentry of the several Counties, should select a certain number of themselves to raise money by a regular Tax, for the making provisions for the support and maintenance of the Army, rather than to leave them to free-quarter, and to carve for themselves; and if any of the Soldiers were exorbitant and disorderly, and that it did appear so to those that were authorised to examine their deportment, that presently order should be given to repair those injuries out of the moneys levied for the Soldiery; by which means the Country was preserved from many inconveniences, which otherwise would doubtless have followed.

And though the season of the year might well have invited my Lord to take up his Winter-quarters, it being about *Christmas;* yet after he had put a good Garison into the City of *York*, and fortified it, upon intelligence that the Enemy was still at *Tadcaster*, and had fortified that place, he resolved to march thither. The greatest part of the Town stands on the West side of a River not fordable in any place near thereabout, nor allowing any passage into the Town from *York*, but over a Stone-bridge, which the Enemy had made impassable by breaking down part of the Bridg, and planting their Ordnance upon it, and by raising a very large and strong Fort upon the top of a Hill, leading Eastward from that Bridg towards *York*,

upon design of commanding the Bridg and all other places fit to draw up an Army in, or to plant Cannon against them.

But notwithstanding all these Discouragements, my Lord after he had refresh'd his Army at *York*, and recruited his provisions, ordered a march before the said Town in this manner: That the greatest part of his Horse and Dragoons should in the night march to a Pass at *Weatherby*, five miles distant from *Tadcaster*, towards North-west, from thence under the Command of his then Lieutenant General of the Army, to appear on the West side of *Tadcaster* early the next morning, by which time my Lord with the rest of his Army resolved to appear at the East-side of the said Town; which intention was well design'd, but ill executed; for though my Lord with that part of the Army which he commanded in person, that is to say, his Foot and Cannon, attended by some Troops of Horse, did march that night, and early in the morning appear'd before the Town on the East side thereof, and there drew up his Army, planted his Cannon, and closely and orderly besieged that side of the Town, and from ten in the morning till four a Clock in the afternoon, battered the Enemies Forts and Works, as being in continual expectation of the appearance of the Troops on the other side, according to his order; yet (whether it was out of Neglect or Treachery that my Lords Orders were not obeyed) that days Work was rendered ineffectual as to the whole Design.

However the vigilancy of my Lord did

put the Enemy into such a Terror, that they forsook that Fort, and secretly fled away with all their Train that very night to another strong hold not far distant from *Tadcaster*, called *Cawood*-Castle, to which, by reason of its low and boggy Scituation, and foul and narrow Lanes and passages, it was not possible for my Lord to pursue them without too great an hazard to his Army; whereas had the Lieutenant General performed his Duty, in all probability the greatest part of the principal Rebels in *York-shire* would that day have been taken in their own trap, and their further mischief prevented. My Lord, the next morning, instead of storming the Town (as he had intended), entred without interruption, and there stayed some few days to refresh his Army, and order that part of the Country.

In *December*, 1642, My Lord thought it fit to march to *Pomfret*, and to quarter his Army in that part of the Country which was betwixt *Cawood* and some Garisons of the Enemy, in the west part of *York-shire*, *viz. Hallifax*, *Bradford*, *Leeds*, *Wakefield*, *&c.*, where he remained some time to recruit and enlarge his Army, which was much lessened by erecting of Garisons, and to keep those parts in order and obedience to His Majesty; And after he had thus ordered his Affairs, He was enabled to give Protection to those parts of the Country that were most willing to embrace it, and quarter'd his Army for a time in such places which he had reduced. *Tadcaster*, which stood upon a Pass, he made a Garison or rather a strong Quarter, and put

also a Garison into *Pomfret* Castle, not above eight Miles distant from *Tadcaster*, which commanded that Town, and a great part of the Country.

During the time that his Army remained at *Pomfret*, My Lord setled a Garison at *Newark* in *Nottingham-shire*, standing upon the River *Trent*, a very considerable pass, which kept the greatest part of *Nottingham-shire*, and part of *Lincoln-shire*, in obedience; and after that he returned, in the beginning of *January*, 1642, back to *York*, with an intention to supply Himself with some Ammunition, which He had ordered to be brought from *Newcastle*: A Convoy of Horse that were imployed to conduct it from thence, under the Command of the Lieutenant General of the Army, the Lord *Ethyn*, was by the Enemy at a pass, called *Yarumbridg*, in *York-shire*, fiercely encountred; in which encounter My Lord's Forces totally routed them, slew many, and took many Prisoners, and most of their Horse Colours, consisting of Seventeen Cornets; and so march'd on to *York* with their Ammunition, without any other Interruption.

My Lord, after he had received this Ammunition, put his Army into a condition to march, and having intelligence that the Queen was at Sea, with intention to land in some part of the Eastriding of *York-shire*, he directed his March in *February*, 1642, into those parts, to be ready to attend Her Majesties landing, who was then daily expected from *Holland*. Within a short time, after it had pleased God to protect Her

Majesty both from the fury of Wind and Waves, there being for several days such a Tempest at Sea that Her Majesty, with all her Attendance, was in danger to be cast away every minute; as also from the fury of the Rebels, which had the whole Naval Power of the Kingdom then in their Hands, she arrived safely at a small Port in the East riding of *York-shire* called *Burlington* Key, where Her Majesty was no sooner landed, but the Enemy at Sea made continual shot against her Ships in the Port, which reached not onely Her Majesties landing, but even the House where she lay (though without the least hurt to any), so that she her self, and her Attendants, were forced to leave the same, and to seek Protection from a Hill near that place, under which they retired; and all that while it was observed that Her Majesty shewed as much Courage as ever any person could do; for Her undaunted and Generous spirit was like her Royal Birth, deriving it self from that unparrallell'd King, Her Father, whose Heroick Actions will be in perpetual Memory whilest the World hath a being.

My Lord finding Her Majesty in this condition, drew his Army near the place where she was, ready to attend and protect Her Majesties Person, who was pleased to take a view of the Army as it was drawn up in order; and immediately after, which was in *March*, 1643, took Her journey towards *York*, whither the whole Army conducted Her Majesty, and brought her safe into the City. About this time, Her Majesty having

some present occasion for Money, My Lord presented Her with 3000 l. *Sterling*, which she graciously accepted of, and having spent some time there in Consultation about the present affairs, she was pleased to send some Armes and Ammunition to the King, who was then in *Oxford*; to which end, my Lord ordered a Party, consisting of 1500, well Commanded, to conduct the same, with whom the Lord *Percy*, who then had waited upon Her Majesty from the King, returned to *Oxford*; which Party His Majesty was pleased to keep with him for his own Service.

Not long after, My Lord, who always endeavoured to win any place or persons by fair means, rather then by using of force, reduced to His Majesties obedience a strong Fort and Castle upon the Sea, and a very good Haven, call'd *Scarborough*-Castle, perswading the Governour thereof, who heretofore had opposed his Forces at *Yarum*-bridg, with such rational and convincible Arguments, that he willingly rendred himself, and all the Garison, unto His Majesties Devotion; By which prudent Action My Lord highly advanced His Majesties Interest; for by that means the Enemy was much annoyed and prejudiced at Sea, and a great part in the East-riding of *York-shire* kept in due obedience.

After this, My Lord having received Intelligence that the Enemies General of the Horse had designed to march with a Party from *Cawood* Castle, whither they were fled from *Tadcaster*, as before is mentioned to some Garisons which they had in the West

of *York-shire*; presently order'd a party of Horse, Commanded by the General of the Horse, the Lord *George Goring*, to attend the Enemy in their March, who overtook them on a Moor, call'd *Seacroft-Moor*, and fell upon their Rear, which caused the Enemy to draw up their Forces into a Body; to whom they gave a Total rout (although their number was much greater) and took about 800 Prisoners, and 10 or 12 Colours of Horse, besides many that were slain in the charge; which Prisoners were brought to *York*, about 10 or 12 miles distant from that same place.

Immediately after, in pursuit of that Victory, My Lord sent a considerable Party into the West of *York-shire*, where they met with about 2000 of the Enemies Forces, taken out of their several Garisons in those parts, to execute some design upon a Moor called *Tankerly-Moor*, and there fought them, and routed them; many were slain, and some taken Prisoners.

Not long after, the Remainder of the Army that were left at *York*, marched to *Leeds*, in the West of *York-shire*, and from thence to *Wakefield*, being both the Enemies Quarters, to reduce and settle that part of the Country: My Lord having possessed himself of the Town of *Wakefield*, it being large, and of great compass, and able to make a strong quarter, order'd it accordingly; and receiving Intelligence that in two Market-Towns Southwest from *Wakefield*, *viz.* *Rotherham* and *Sheffield*, the Enemy was very busie to raise Forces against his Majesty,

and had fortified them both about four miles distant from each other, hoping thereby to give protection and encouragement to all those parts of the Country which were populous, rich and rebellious, he thought it necessary to use his best endeavours to blast those their wicked designs in the bud; and thereupon took a resolution in *April* 1643, to march with part of his Army from *Wakefield* into the mentioned parts, attended with a convenient Train of Artillery and Ammunition, leaving the greatest part of it at *Wakefield* with the remainder of his Army, under the Care and Conduct of his General of the Horse, and Major General of the Army, which was so considerable, both in respect of their number and provision, that they did, as they might well, conceive themselves Master of the Field in those parts, and secure in that quarter, although in the end it proved not so, as shall hereafter be declared, which must necessarily be imputed to their invigilancy and carelessness.

My Lord first marched to *Rotherham*, and finding that the Enemy had placed a Garison of Soldiers in that Town, and fortified it, he drew up his Army in the morning against the Town, and summon'd it; but they refusing to yield, my Lord fell to work with his Cannon and Musket, and within a short time took it by storm, and enter'd the Town that very night; some Enemies of note that were found therein, were taken Prisoners; and as for the common Soldiers, which were by the Enemy forced from their Allegiance, he shew'd such Clemency to them, that very

many willingly took up Arms for his Majesties Service, and proved very faithful and loyal Subjects, and good Soldiers.

After my Lord had stayed two or three dayes there, and order'd those parts, he march'd with his Army to *Sheffield*, another Market-Town of large extent, in which there was an Ancient Castle; which when the Enemies Forces that kept the Town, came to hear of, being terrified with the fame of my Lords hitherto Victorious Army, they fled away from thence into *Derbyshire*, and left both Town and Castle (without any blow) to my Lords Mercy; and though the people in the Town were most of them rebelliously affected, yet my Lord so prudently ordered the business, that within a short time he reduced most of them to their Allegiance by love, and the rest by fear, and recruited his Army daily; he put a Garison of Soldiers into the Castle, and fortified it in all respects, and constituted a Gentleman of Quality Governour both of the Castle, Town and Country; and finding near that place some Iron Works, he gave present order for the casting of Iron Cannon for his Garisons, and for the making of other Instruments and Engines of War.

Within a short time after, my Lord receiving Intelligence that the Enemy in the Garisons near *Wakefield* had united themselves, and being drawn into a body in the night time, had surprised and enter'd the Town of *Wakefield*, and taken all or most of the Officers and Soldiers, left there, Prisoners, (amongst whom was also the General of the

Horse, the Lord *Goring*, whom my Lord afterwards redeem'd by Exchange) and possessed themselves of the whole Magazine, which was a very great loss and hinderance to my Lords designs, it being the Moity of his Army, and most of his Ammunition, he fell upon new Counsels, and resolved without any delay to march from thence back towards *York*, which was in *May* 1643, where after he had rested some time, Her Majesty being resolved to take Her Journey towards the Southern parts of the Kingdom, where the King was, designed first to go from *York* to *Pomfret*, whither my Lord ordered the whole Marching Army to be in readiness to conduct Her Majesty, which they did, he himself attending Her Majesty in person. And after Her Majesty had rested there some small time, she being desirous to proceed in Her intended Journey, no less then a formed Army was able to secure Her Person: Wherefore my Lord was resolved out of his fidelity and duty to supply Her with an Army of 7000 Horse and Foot, besides a convenient Train of Artillery, for Her safer Conduct; chusing rather to leave himself in a weak condition (though he was even then very near the Enemies Garisons in that part of the Country) then suffer Her Majesties Person to be exposed to danger. Which Army of 7000 men, when Her Majesty was safely arrived to the King, He was pleased to keep with him for His own Service.

After Her Majesties departure out of *Yorkshire*, my Lord was forced to recruit again his Army, and within a short time, *viz.* in *June*,

1643, took a resolution to march into the Enemies Quarters, in the Western parts; in which march he met with a strong stone house well fortified, call'd *Howley*-House, wherein was a Garison of Soldiers, which my Lord summon'd; but the Governour disobeying the summons, he batter'd it with his Cannon, and so took it by force; the Governour having quarter given him contrary to my Lord's Orders, was brought before my Lord by a Person of Quality, for which the Officer that brought him received a check; and though he resolved then to kill him, yet my Lord would not suffer him to do it, saying, It was inhumane to kill any man in cold blood. Hereupon the Governour kiss'd the Key of the House door, and presented it to my Lord; to which my Lord return'd this answer: *I need it not*, said he, *for I brought a Key along with me, which yet I was unwilling to use, until you forced me to it.*

At this House my Lord remained five or six days, till he had refreshed his Soldiers; and then a resolution was taken to march against a Garison of the Enemies call'd *Bradford*, a little but a strong Town; in the way he met with a strong interruption by the Enemy drawing forth a vast number of Musquetiers, which they had very privately gotten out of *Lancashire*, the next adjoining County to those parts of *Yorkshire*, which had so easie an access to them at *Bradford*, by reason the whole Country was of their Party, that my Lord could not possibly have any constant intelligence

of their designs and motions; for in their Army there were near 5000 Musquetiers, and 18 Troops of Horse, drawn up in a place full of hedges, called *Atherton-moor*, near to their Garison at *Bradford*, ready to encounter my Lord's Forces, which then contained not above half so many Musquetiers as the Enemy had; their chiefest strength consisting in Horse, and these made useless for a long time together by the Enemies Horse possessing all the plain ground upon that Field; so that no place was left to draw up my Lords Horse, but amongst old Coalpits: Neither could they charge the Enemy, by reason of a great ditch and high bank betwixt my Lord's and the Enemies Troops, but by two on a breast, and that within Musquet shot; the Enemy being drawn up in hedges, and continually playing upon them, which rendred the service exceeding difficult and hazardous.

In the mean while the Foot of both sides on the right and left Wings encounter'd each other, who fought from Hedg to Hedg, and for a long time together overpower'd and got ground of my Lords Foot, almost to the invironing of his Cannon; my Lords Horse (wherein consisted his greatest strength) all this while being made, by reason of the ground, incapable of charging; at last the Pikes of my Lords Army having had no employment all the day, were drawn against the Enemies left wing, and particularly those of my Lords own Regiment, which were all stout and valiant men, who fell so furiously upon the Enemy, that they forsook their

hedges, and fell to their heels: At which very instant my Lord caused a shot or two to be made by his Cannon against the Body of the Enemies Horse, drawn up within Cannon shot, which took so good effect, that it disordered the Enemies Troops; Hereupon my Lord's Horse got over the Hedg, not in a body (for that they could not), but dispersedly two on a breast; and as soon as some considerable number was gotten over, and drawn up, they charged the Enemy, and routed them; so that in an instant there was a strange change of Fortune, and the Field totally won by my Lord, notwithstanding he had quitted 7000 Men, to conduct Her Majesty, besides a good Train of Artillery, which in such a Conjuncture would have weakned *Cæsars* Army. In this Victory the Enemy lost most of their Foot, about 3000 were taken Prisoners, and 700 Horse and Foot slain, and those that escaped fled into their Garison at *Bradford*, amongst whom was also their General of the Horse, Sir Thos. Fairfax.

After this My Lord caused his Army to be rallied, and marched in order that night before *Bradford*, with an intention to storm it the next morning; but the Enemy that were in the Town, it seems, were so discomfited, that the same night they escaped all various ways, and amongst them the said General of the Horse, whose Lady being behind a Servant on Horse-back, was taken by some of My Lord's Soldiers, and brought to his Quarters, where she was treated and attended with all civility and respect, and

within few days sent to *York* in my Lords own Coach, and from thence very shortly after to *Kingstone* upon *Hull*, where she desired to be, attended by my Lords Coach and Servants.

Thus my Lord, after the Enemy was gone, entred the Town and Garison of *Bradford*, by which Victory the Enemy was so daunted, that they forsook the rest of their Garisons, that is to say, *Hallifax*, *Leeds* and *Wakefield*, and dispersed themselves severally, the chief Officers retiring to *Hull*, a strong Garison of the Enemy; and though my Lord, knowing they would make their escape thither, as having no other place of refuge to resort to, sent a Letter to *York* to the Governour of that City, to stop them in their passage; yet by neglect of the Post, it coming not timely enough to his hands, his Design was frustrated.

The whole County of *York*, save onely *Hull*, being now cleared and setled by my Lords Care and Conduct, he marched to the City of *York*, and having a competent number of Horse well armed and commanded, he quarter'd them in the East-riding, near *Hull*, there being no visible Enemy then to oppose them: In the mean while my Lord receiving News that the Enemy had made an Invasion into the next adjoining County of *Lincoln*, where he had some Forces, he presently dispatched his Lieutenant General of the Army away with some Horse and Dragoons, and soon after marched thither himself with the body of the Army, being earnestly desired by his Majesties

Party there. The Forses which my Lord had in the same County, commanded by the then Lieutenant General of the Horse, Mr. *Charles Cavendish*, second Brother to the now Earl of *Devonshire*, though they had timely notice, and Orders from my Lord to make their retreat to the Lieutenant-General of the Army, and not to fight the Enemy; yet the said Lieutenant-General of the Horse being transported by his Courage (he being a Person of great Valour and Conduct), and having charged the Enemy, unfortunately lost the field, and himself was slain in the Charge, his Horse lighting in a bogg: Which news being brought to my Lord when he was on his March, he made all the hast he could, and was no sooner joined with his Lieutenant General, but fell upon the Enemy, and put them to flight.

The first Garison my Lord took in *Lincolnshire* was *Gainsborrough*, a Town standing upon the River *Trent*, wherein (not long before), had been a Garison of Soldiers for His Majesty, under the Command of the then Earl of *Kingstone*, but surprised, and the Town taken by the Enemies Forces, who having an intention to conveigh the said Earl of *Kingstone* from thence to *Hull* in a little Pinnace, met with some of my Lords Forces by the way, commanded by the Lieutenant of the Army, who being desirous to rescue the Earl of *Kingstone*, and making some shots with their Regiment Pieces, to stop the Pinnace, unfortunately slew him and one of his Servants.

My Lord drawing near the mentioned Town of *Gainsborrough*, there appear'd on the top of a Hill above the Town, some of the Enemies Horse drawn up in a body; whereupon he immediately sent a party of his Horse to view them; who no sooner came within their sight, but they retreated fairly so long as they could well endure; but the pursuit of my Lords Horse caused them presently to break their ranks, and fall to their heels, where most of them escaped, and fled to *Lincoln*, another of their Garisons. Hereupon my Lord summon'd the Town of *Gainsborrough*; but the Governour thereof refusing to yield, caused my Lord to plant his Cannon, and draw up his Army on the mention'd Hill; and having play'd some little while upon the Town, put the Enemy into such a terror, that the Governour sent out, and offer'd the surrender of the Town upon fair terms, which my Lord thought fit rather to embrace, then take it by force; and though according to the Articles of Agreement made between them, both the Enemies Arms and the Keys of the Town should have been fairly delivered to my Lord; yet it being not performed as it was expected, the Arms being in a confused manner thrown down, and the Gates set wide open, the Prisoners that had been kept in the Town began first to plunder; which my Lords Forces seeing, did the same, although it was against my Lords will and orders.

After my Lord had thus reduced the Town, and put a good Garison of Soldiers

into it, and better fortified it, he marched before *Lincoln*, and there he entred with his Army without great difficulty, and plac'd also a Garison in it, and raised a considerable Army, both Horse, Foot and Dragoons, for the preservation of that County, and put them under Commanders, and constituted a Person of Honour Commander in Chief, with intention to march towards the South, which if it had taken effect, would doubtless have made an end of that War ; but he being daily importuned by the Nobility and Gentry of *York-shire*, to return into that County, especially upon the perswasions of the Commander in Chief of the Forces left there, who acquainted my Lord that the Enemy grew so strong every day, being got together in *Kingstone* upon *Hull*, and annoying that Country, that his Forces were not able to bear up against them ; alledging withall, that my Lord would be suspected to betray the Trust reposed in him, if he came not to succour and assist them ; he went back with his Army for the protection of that same Country ; and when he arrived there, which was in *August*, 1643, he found the Enemy of so small consequence, that they did all flie before him. About this time His Majesty was pleased to honour my Lord for His true and faithful Service, with the Title of *Marquess of Newcastle*.

My Lord being returned into *York-shire*, forced the Enemy first from a Town called *Beverly*, wherein they had a Garison of Soldiers ; and from thence, upon the entreaty of the Nobility and Gentry of *York-*

shire, (as before is mentioned) who promised him Ten thousand men for that purpose, though they came short of their performance, marched near the Town of *Kingstone* upon *Hull*, and besieged that part of the Garison that bordered on *York-shire*, for a certain time; in which time the Enemy took the courage to sally out of the Town with a strong party of Horse and Foot very early in the morning, with purpose to have forced the Quarters of a Regiment of my Lords Horse, that were quarter'd next the Town; but by the vigilancy of their Commander Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, afterwards Lord *Langdale*, his Forces being prepared for their reception, they received such a Welcome as cost many of them their Lives, most of their Foot (but such as were slain) being taken Prisoners; and those of their Horse that escaped, got into their Hold at *Hull*.

The Enemy thus seeing that they could do my Lords Army no further damage on that side of the River in *York-shire*, endeavoured by all means (from *Hull*, and other confederate places in the Eastern parts of the Kingdom) to form a considerable party to annoy and disturb the Forces raised by my Lord in *Lincolnshire*, and left there for the protection of that County; where the Enemy being drawn together in a body, fought my Lords Forces in his absence, and got the honour of the day near *Hornby* Castle in that County; which loss, caused partly by their own rashness, forced my Lord to leave his design upon *Hull*, and to march back with his Army to *York*, which was in

October, 1643, where he remained but a few dayes to refresh his Army, and receiving intelligence that the Enemy was got into *Derbyshire*, and did grow numerous there, and busie in seducing the people, that Country being under my Lords Command, he resolved to direct his March thither in the beginning of *November*, 1643, to suppress their further growth; and to that end quarter'd his Army at *Chesterfield*, and in all the parts thereabout, for a certain time.

Immediately after his departure from *York* to *Pomfret*, in his said March into *Derbyshire*, the City of *York* sent to my Lord to inform him of their intention to chuse another Mayor for the year following, desiring his pleasure about it: My Lord, who knew that the Mayor for the year before, was a person of much Loyalty and Discretion, declared his mind to them, That he thought it fit to continue him Mayor also for the year following; which it seems they did not like, but resolved to chuse one which they pleased, contrary to my Lords desire. My Lord perceiving their intentions, about the time of the Election, sent orders to the Governour of the City of *York*, to permit such Forces to enter into the City as he should send; which being done accordingly, they upon the Day of the Election repaired to the Town-Hall, and with their Arms staid there until they had continued the said Mayor according to my Lords desire.

During the time of my Lords stay at *Chesterfield* in *Derbyshire*, he ordered some part of his Army to march before a strong

House and Garison of the Enemies, call'd *Wingfield Mannor*, which in a short time they took by storm. And when my Lord had raised in that County as many Forces, Horse and Foot, as were supposed to be sufficient to preserve it from the fury of the Enemy, he armed them, and constituted an Honourable Person Commander in Chief of all the Forces of that County, and of *Leicestershire ;* and so leaving it in that condition, marched in *December* 1643, from *Chesterfield* to *Bolsover* in the same County, and from thence to *Welbeck* in *Nottinghamshire*, to his own House and Garison, in which parts he staid some time, both to refresh his Army, and to settle and reform some disorders he found there, leaving no visible Enemy behind him in *Derbyshire*, save onely an inconsiderable party in the Town of *Derby*, which they had fortified, not worth the labour to reduce it.

About this time the report came, that a great Army out of *Scotland*, was upon their march towards the Northern parts of *England*, to assist the Enemy againt His Majesty, which forced the Nobility and Gentry of *Yorkshire* to invite my Lord back again into those parts, with promise to raise for his service, an Army of 10000 men ; My Lord (not upon this proffer, which had already heretofore deceived him, but out of his Loyalty and duty to preserve those parts which were committed to his care and protection) returned in the middle of *January* 1643. And when he came there, he found not one man raised to assist him against so

powerful an Army, nor an intention of raising any; Wherefore he was necessitated to raise himself, out of the Countrey, what forces he could get, and when he had settled the affairs in *York-shire* as well as time and his present condition would permit, and constituted an honourable Person Governour of *York* and Commander in chief of a very considerable party of horse and foot for the defence of the County (for Sr. *Thomas Glemham* was then made Colonel General, and marched into the Field with the Army) he took his march to *Newcastle* in the beginning of *February* 1643, to give a stop to the *Scots* army.

Presently after his coming thither with some of his Troups, before his whole army was come up, he received intelligence of the *Scots* Armie's near approach, whereupon he sent forth a party of horse to view them, who found them very strong, to the number of 22000 Horse and Foot well armed and commanded: They marched up towards the Town with such confidence, as if the Gates had been open'd for their reception; and the General of their Army seem'd to take no notice of my Lords being in it, for which afterwards he excused himself; but as they drew near, they found not such entertainment as they expected; for though they assaulted a Work that was not finished, yet they were beaten off with much loss.

The Enemy being thus stopt before the Town, thought fit to quarter near it, in that part of the Country; and so soon as my Lords Army was come up, he designed one

night to have fallen into their Quarter; but by reason of some neglect of his Orders in not giving timely notice to the party designed for it, it took not an effect answerable to his expectation. In a word, there were three Designs taken against the Enemy, whereof if one had but hit, they would doubtless have been lost; but there was so much Treachery, Jugling and Falshood in my Lord's own Army, that it was impossible for him to be successful in his Designs and Undertakings. However, though it failed in the Enemies Foot-Quarters, which lay nearest the Town; yet it took good effect in their Horse-Quarters, which were more remote; for my Lord's Horse, Commanded by a very gallant and worthy Gentleman falling upon them, gave them such an Alarm, that all they could do, was to draw into the Field, where my Lord's Forces charged them, and in a little time routed them totally, and kill'd and took many Prisoners, to the number of 1500.

Upon this the Enemy was forced to draw their whole Army together, and to quarter them a little more remote from the Town, and to seek out inaccessible places for their security, as afterwards appear'd more plainly; for so soon as my Lord had prepared his Army for a March, he drew them forth against the *Scots*, which he found quarter'd upon high Hills close by the River *Tyne*, where they could not be encounter'd but upon very disadvantagious terms; besides, that day proved very stormy and tempestuous, so that my Lord was necessi-

tated to withdraw his Forces, and retire into his own Quarters.

The next day after, the *Scots* Army finding ill harbour in those quarters, marched from hill to hill into another part of the Bishoprick of *Durham*, near the Sea coast, to a Town called *Sunderland;* and thereupon my Lord thought fit to march to *Durham*, to stop their further progress, where he had contrived the business so, that they were either forced to fight or starve within a little time. The first was offered to them twice, that is to say, at *Pensher-hills* one day, and at *Bowden-hills* another day in the Bishoprick of *Durham:* But my Lord found them at both times drawn up in such places, as he could not possibly charge them; wherefore he retired again to *Durham*, with an intention to streighten their Quarters, and to wait upon them, if ever they left their Holds and inaccessible places. In the mean time it hapned that the Earl of *Montross* came to the same place, and having some design for his Majesties service in *Scotland*, desired My Lord to give him the assistance of some of his Forces; and although My Lord stood then in present need of them, and could not conveniently spare any, having so great an Army to oppose; yet out of a desire to advance His Majesties service as much as lay in his power, he was willing to part with 200 Horse and Dragoons to the said Earl.

The *Scots* perceiving My Lords vigilancy and care, contented themselves with their own quarters, which could not have serv'd

them long, but that a great misfortune befel My Lords Forces in *York-shire;* for the Governour whom he had left behind with sufficient Forces for the defence of that Country, although he had orders not to encounter the Enemy, but to keep himself in a defensive posture; yet he being a man of great valour and courage, it transported him so much that he resolved to face the Enemy, and offering to keep a Town that was not tenable, was utterly routed, and himself taken Prisoner, although he fought most gallantly.

So soon as my Lord received this sad Intelligence, he upon Consultation, and upon very good Grounds of Reason, took a resolution not to stay between the two Armies of the Enemies, *viz.* the *Scots* and the *English*, that had prevailed in *York-shire;* but immediately to march into *York-shire* with his Army, to preserve (if possible) the City of *York* out of the Enemies hands: which retreat was ordered so well, and with such excellent Conduct, that though the Army of the *Scots* marched close upon their Rear, and fought them every day of their retreat, yet they gained several Passes for their security, and entred safe and well into the City of *York*, in *April* 1643.

My Lord being now at *York*, and finding three Armies against him, *viz.* the Army of the *Scots*, the Army of the *English* that gave the defeat to the Governour of *York*, and an Army that was raised out of associate Counties, and but little Ammunition and Provision in the Town; was forced to send

his Horse away to quarter in several Counties, *viz. Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire*, for their subsistance, under the Conduct of his Lieutenant-General of the Horse, My dear Brother Sir *Charles Lucas*, himself remaining at *York*, with his Foot and Train for the defence of that City.

In the mean time, the Enemy having closely besiedged the City on all sides, came to the very Gates thereof, and pull'd out the Earth at one end, as those in the City put it in at the other end; they planted their great Cannons against it, and threw in Granadoes at pleasure: But those in the City made several sallies upon them with good success. At last, the General of the associate Army of the Enemy, having closely beleaguer'd the North side of the Town, sprung a Mine under the wall of the Mannor-yard, and blew part of it up; and having beaten back the Town-Forces (although they behaved themselves very gallantly) enter'd the Mannor-house with a great number of their men, which as soon as my Lord perceived, he went away in all haste, even to the amazement of all that were by, not knowing what he intended to do; and drew 80 of his own Regiment of Foot, called the White-Coats, all stout and valiant Men, to that Post, who fought the Enemy with that courage, that within a little time they killed and took 1500 of them; and My Lord gave present order to make up the breach which they had made in the wall; Whereupon the Enemy remain'd without any other attempt in that kind, so long, till

almost all provision for the support of the soldiery in the City was spent, which nevertheless was so well ordered by my Lords Prudence, that no Famine or great extremity of want ensued.

My Lord having held out in that manner above two Months, and withstood the strength of three Armies; and seeing that his Lieutenant-General of the Horse whom he had sent for relief to His Majesty, could not so soon obtain it (although he used his best endeavour) for to gain yet some little time, began to treat with the Enemy; ordering in the mean while, and upon the Treaty, to double and treble his Guards. At last after three Months time from the beginning of the Siege, His Majesty was pleased to send an Army, which joining with my Lords Horse that were sent to quarter in the aforesaid Countreys, came to relieve the City, under the Conduct of the most Gallant and Heroick Prince *Rupert*, his Nephew; upon whose approach near *York*, the Enemy drew from before the City, into an entire Body, and marched away on the West-side of the River *Owse*, that runs through the City, His Majesties Forces being then of the East-side of that River.

My Lord immediately sent some persons of Quality to attend His Highness, and to invite him into the City to consult with him about that important Affair, and to gain so much time as to open a Port to march forth with his Cannon and Foot which were in the Town, to join with His Highness's Forces; and went himself the next day in person to

wait on His Highness; where after some Conferences, he declared his Mind to the Prince, desiring His Highness not to attempt any thing as yet upon the Enemy; for he had intelligence that there was some discontent between them, and that they were resolved to divide themselves, and so to raise the Siege without fighting: Besides, my Lord expected within two dayes, Collonel *Cleavering*, with above three thousand men out of the North, and two thousand drawn out of several Garisons, (who also came at the same time, though it was then too late). But His Highness answered my Lord, That he had a Letter from His Majesty (then at *Oxford*) with a positive and absolute Command to fight the Enemy; which in Obedience, and according to his Duty he was bound to perform. Whereupon my Lord replied, That he was ready and willing for his part, to obey his Highness in all things, no otherwise then if His Majesty was there in Person Himself; and though several of my Lords Friends advised him not to engage in Battel, because the Command (as they said) was taken from Him: Yet my Lord answer'd them, That happen what would, he would not shun to fight, for he had no other ambition but to live and dye a Loyal Subject to His Majesty.

Then the Prince and my Lord conferr'd with several of their Officers, amongst whom there were several Disputes concerning the advantages which the Enemy had of Sun, Wind and Ground. The Horse of His Majesties Forces, was drawn up in both

Wings upon that fatal Moor call'd *Hessom-Moor;* and my Lord ask'd His Highness what Service he would be pleas'd to command him; who return'd this Answer, That he would begin no action upon the Enemy, till early in the morning; desiring my Lord to repose himself till then. Which my Lord did, and went to rest in his own Coach that was close by in the Field, until the time appointed.

Not long had My Lord been there, but he heard a great noise and thunder of shooting, which gave him notice of the Armies being engaged: Whereupon he immediately put on his Arms, and was no sooner got on Horse-back, but he beheld a dismal sight of the Horse of His Majesties right Wing, which out of a panick fear had left the Field, and run away with all the speed they could; and though my Lord made them stand once, yet they immediately betook themselves to their heels again, and killed even those of their own party that endeavoured to stop them; the Left Wing in the mean time, Commanded by those two Valiant Persons, the Lord *Goring*, and Sir *Charles Lucas*, having the better of the Enemies Right Wing, which they beat back most valiantly three times, and made their General retreat, in so much that they sounded Victory.

In this Confusion my Lord (accompanied onely with his Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish*, Major *Scot*, Capt. *Maxine*, and his Page) hastning to see in what posture his own Regiment was, met with a Troop of Gentlemen-Voluntiers, who formerly had chosen

him their Captain, notwithstanding he was General of an Army; to whom my Lord spake after this manner: *Gentlemen*, said he, *You have done me the Honour to chuse me your Captain, and now is the fittest time that I may do you service; wherefore if you'l follow me, I shall lead you on the best I can, and shew you the way to your own Honour.* They being as glad of my Lords Profer, as my Lord was of their Readiness, went on with the greatest Courage; and passing through Two Bodies of Foot, engaged with each other not at forty yards distance, received not the least hurt, although they fired quick upon each other; but marched towards a *Scots* Regiment of Foot, which they charged and routed; in which Encounter my Lord himself kill'd Three with his Pages half-leaden Sword, for he had no other left him; and though all the Gentlemen in particular, offer'd him their Swords, yet my Lord refused to take a Sword of any of them. At last, after they had pass'd through this Regiment of Foot, a Pike-man made a stand to the whole Troop; and though my Lord charg'd him twice or thrice, yet he could not enter him; but the Troop dispatched him soon.

In all these Encounters my Lord got not the least hurt, though several were slain about him; and his White-Coats shew'd such an extraordinary Valour and Courage in that Action, that they were kill'd in Rank and File: And here I cannot but mention by the way, That it is remarkable, that in all actions and undertakings where My Lord

was in Person himself, he was always Victorious, and prospered in the execution of his designs; but whatsoever was lost or succeeded ill, happen'd in his absence, and was caused either by the Treachery, or Negligence and Carelesness of his Officers.

My Lord being the last in the Field, and seeing that all was lost, and that every one of His Majesties Party made their escapes in the best manner they could; he being moreover inquired after by several of his Friends, who had all a great love and respect for my Lord, especially by the then Earl of *Craford* (who lov'd my Lord so well that he gave 20*s*. to one that assured him of his being alive and safe, telling him, that that was all he had) went towards *York* late at night, accompanied onely with his Brother, and one or two of his servants; and coming near the Town, met His Highness Prince *Rupert*, with the Lieutenant General of the Army, the Lord *Ethyn*; His Highness asked My Lord how the business went? To whom he answered, That all was lost and gone on their side.

That night my Lord remained in *York*; and having nothing left in his power to do his Majesty any further service in that kind; for he had neither Ammunition, nor Money to raise more Forces, to keep either *York*, or any other Towns that were yet in His Majesties Devotion, well knowing that those which were left could not hold out long, and being also loath to have aspersions cast upon him, that he did sell them to the Enemy, in case he could not keep them, he took a

Resolution, and that justly and honourably, to forsake the Kingdom; and to that end, went the next morning to the Prince, and acquainted him with his Design, desiring His Highness would be pleased to give this true and just report of him to his Majesty, that he had behaved himself like an honest man, a Gentleman, and a Loyal subject. Which request the Prince having granted, my Lord took his leave; and being conducted by a Troop of Horse, and a Troop of Dragoons to *Scarborough*, went to Sea, and took shipping for *Hamborough*; the Gentry of the Country, who also came to take their leaves of My Lord, being much troubled at his departure, and speaking very honourably of him, as surely they had no reason to the contrary.

The Life of the Moſt Illuſtrious Prince, William Duke of Newcaſtle

THE SECOND BOOK

HAVING hitherto faithfully related the life of My Noble Lord and Husband, and the chief Actions which He performed during the time of his being employed in His Majesties Service for the Good and Interest of his King and Country, until the time of his going out of *England*, I shall now give you a just account of all that passed during the time of his banishment, till the return into his native Country.

My Lord being a Wise Man, and foreseeing well what the loss of that fatal Battle upon *Hessom-moor*, near *York*, would produce, by which not onely those of His Majesties Party in the Northern parts of the Kingdom, but in all other parts of His Majesties Dominions both in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* were lost and undone, and that there was no other way, but either to quit the Kingdom, or submit to the Enemy, or die, he resolved upon the former, and preparing for his journey, asked his Steward, How Much Money he had left? Who answer'd, That he had but 90*l*. My Lord not being at all startled at so small a Summ, although his present design required much more, was resolved too seek his Fortune,

even with that litle ; and thereupon having taken leave of His Highness Prince *Rupert*, and the rest that were present, went to *Scarborough* (as before is mentioned) where two Ships were prepared for *Hamborough* to set sail within 24 hours, in which he embarqued with his Company, and arrived in four days time to the said City, which was on the *8th* of *July*, 1644.

In one of these Ships was my Lord, with his two Sons, *Charles* Viscount *Mansfield*, and Lord *Henry Cavendish*, now Earl of *Ogle ;* as also Sir *Charles Cavendish*, My Lord's Brother ; the then Lord Bishop of *London-derry*, Dr. *Bramhall ;* the Lord *Falconbridg*, the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *William Carnaby*, who after died at *Paris*, and his Brother, Mr. *Francis Carnaby*, who went presently in the same Ship back again for *England*, and soon after was slain by the Enemy, near *Sherborne* in *York-shire*, besides many of my Lord's and their servants. In the other Ship was the Earl of *Ethyne*, Lieutenant General of My Lord's Army, and the Lord *Cornworth*. But before My Lord landed at *Hamborough*, his eldest Son *Charles*, Lord *Mansfield*, fell sick of the Small-Pox, and not long after his younger Son, *Henry*, now Earl of *Ogle*, fell likewise dangerously ill of the Measels ; but it pleased God that they both happily recovered.

My Lord finding his Company and Charge very great, although he sent several of his Servants back again into *England*, and having no means left to maintain him, was forced to seek for Credit ; where at last he

got so much as would in part relieve his necessities; and whereas heretofore he had been contented, for want of a Coach, to make use of a Waggon, when his occasions drew him abroad, he was now able (with the credit he had got) to buy a Coach and nine Horses of an *Holsatian* breed; for which Horses he paid £160, and was afterwards offer'd for one of them an hundred Pistols at *Paris*, but he refused the money, and presented seven of them to Her Majesty the Queen-Mother of *England*, and kept two for his own use.

After my Lord had stay'd in *Hamborough* from *July* 1644, till *February* $164\frac{5}{4}$, he being resolved to go into *France*, went by Sea from *Hamborough* to *Amsterdam*, and from thence to *Rotterdam*, where he sent one of his Servants with a Complement and tender of his humble Service to Her Highness, the then Princess Royal, the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princess Dowager of *Orange*, and the Prince of *Orange*, which was received with much kindness and civility.

From *Rotterdam* he directed his Journey to *Antwerp*, and from thence, with one Coach, one Chariot, and two Waggons, he went to *Mechlin* and *Brussels*, where he received a Visit from the Governour, the Marquess of *Castel Rodrigo*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and Count *Piccolomini*.

From thence he set forth for *Valenchin* and *Cambray*, where the Governour of the Town, used my Lord with great respect and civility, and desired him to give the word that night. Thence he went to *Peroon*, a

Frontier Town in *France* (where the Vice-Governour, in absence of the Governour of that place, did likewise entertain my Lord with all respect, and desired him to give the Word that night), and so to *Paris* without any further stay.

My Lord being arrived at *Paris*, which was in *April*, 1645, immediately went to tender his humble duty to Her Majesty, the Queen-Mother of *England*, where it was my Fortune to see him the first time, I being then one of the Maids of Honour to Her Majesty; and after he had stay'd there some time, he was pleased to take some particular notice of me, and express more then an ordinary affection for me; insomuch that he resolved to chuse me for his Second Wife; for he, having but two Sons, purposed to marry me, a young Woman that might prove fruitful to him and encrease his Posterity by a Masculine Offspring. Nay, He was so desirous of Male-Issue, that I have heard him say, He cared not (so God would be pleased to give him many Sons), although they came to be persons of the meanest Fortunes; but God (it seems) had ordered it otherwise, and frustrated his Designs by making me barren, which yet did never lessen his Love and Affection for me.

After My Lord was married, having no Estate or Means left him to maintain himself and his Family, he was necessitated to seek for Credit, and live upon the Courtesie of those that were pleased to Trust him; which although they did for somewhile, and shew'd themselves very civil to My Lord, yet they

grew weary at length, insomuch that his Steward was forced one time to tell him, That he was not able to provide a Dinner for him, for his Creditors were resolved to trust him no longer. My Lord being always a great master of his Passions, was, at least shew'd himself not in any manner troubled at it, but in a pleasant humour told me, that I must of necessity pawn my Cloaths to make so much Money as would procure a Dinner. I answer'd, That my Cloaths would be but of small value, and therefore desired my Waiting-Maid to pawn some small toys, which I had formerly given her, which she willingly did. The same day in the afternoon, My Lord spake himself to his Creditors, and both by his civil Deportment, and perswasive Arguments, obtained so much that they did not onely trust him for more necessaries, but lent him Mony besides to redeem those Toys that were pawned. Hereupon I sent my Waiting-Maid into *England* to my Brother, the Lord *Lucas*, for that small Portion which was left me, and my Lord also immediately after dispatched one of his Servants, who was then Governour to his Sons, to some of his Friends, to try what means he could procure for his subsistance; but though he used all the industry and endeavour he could, yet he effected but little, by reason everybody was so affraid of the Parliament, that they durst not relieve Him, who was counted a Traitor for his Honest and Loyal service to his King and Country.

Not long after, My Lord had profers made

him of some Rich Matches in *England* for his two Sons, whom therefore he sent thither with one Mr. *Loving*, hoping by that means to provide both for them and himself; but they being arrived there, out of some reasons best known to them, declared their unwillingness to Marry as yet, continuing nevertheless in *England*, and living as well as they could.

Some two years after my Lord's Marriage, when he had prevailed so far with his Creditors, that they began to trust him anew, the first thing he did was, that he removed out of those Lodgings in *Paris*, where he had been necessitated to live hitherto, to a House which he hired for himself and his Family, and furnished it as well as his new gotten Credit would permit; and withal, resolving for his own recreation and divertisement in his banished condition, to exercise the Art of Mannage, which he is a great lover and Master of, bought a Barbary-horse for that purpose, which cost him 200 Pistols, and soon after another Barbary-horse from the Lord *Crofts*, for which he was to pay him 100l. when he returned into *England*.

About this time, there was a Council call'd at St. *Germain*, in which were present, besides My Lord, Her Majesty the now Queen Mother of *England*; His Highness the Prince, our now gracious King, His Cousin Prince *Rupert*; the Marquess of *Worcester*, the then Marquess, now Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord *Jermyn* now Earl of St. *Albans*, and several others; where after several debates

concerning the then present condition of His Majesty King *Charles* the First, my Lord delivered his sentiment, that he could perceive no other probability of procuring Forces for His Majesty, but an assistance of the *Scots;* But Her Majesty was pleased to answer my Lord, That he was too quick.

Not long after, When my Lord had begun to settle himself in his mentioned new house, His gracious Master the Prince, having taken a resolution to go into *Holland* upon some designs, Her Majesty the Queen Mother desired my Lord to follow him, promising to engage for his debts which hitherto he had contracted at *Paris*, and commanding Her Controller and Treasurer to be bound for them in Her behalf; which they did, although the Creditors would not content themselves, until my Lord had joined his word to theirs; So great and generous was the bounty and favour of her Majesty to my Lord! considering she had already given him heretofore near upon 2000l. *Sterling*, even at that time when Her Majesty stood most in need of it.

My Lord, after his Highness the Prince was gone, being ready to execute Her Majesties Commands in following Him, and preparing for his Journey, wanted the chief thing, which was Money; and having much endeavoured for it, at last had the good Fortune to obtain upon Credit three or four hundred pounds *sterl.* With which Sum he set out of *Paris* in the same Equipage he entred, *viz.* One Coach, which he had newly caused to be made, (wherein were the

Lord *Widdrington*, my Lord's Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish*, Mr. *Loving*, my Waiting-Maid, and some others, whereof the two later were then returned out of *England*) one little Chariot, that would onely hold my Lord and my self; and three Waggons, besides an indifferent number of Servants on Horse-back.

That day when we left *Paris*, the Creditors coming to take their Farewell of my Lord, expressed so great a love and kindness for him, accompanied with so many hearty Prayers and Wishes, that he could not but prosper on his Journey.

Being come into the King of *Spain's* Dominions, my Lord found a very Noble Reception. At *Cambray* the Governour was so civil, that my Lord coming to that place somewhat late, and when it was dark, he commanded some Lights and Torches to meet my Lord, and conduct him to his Lodgings: He offer'd my Lord the Keys of the City, and desir'd him to give the Word that night, and moreover invited him to an Entertainment, which he had made for him of purpose; but it being late, my Lord (tyred with his Journey) excused himself as civilly as he could; the Governour notwithstanding being pleased to send all manner of Provisions to my Lords Lodgings, and charging our Landlord to take no pay for any thing we had: Which extraordinary Civilities shewed that he was a Right Noble *Spaniard*.

The next morning early, my Lord went on his Journey, and was very civilly used in

every place of His Majesty of *Spain's* Dominions, where he arrived: At last coming to *Antwerp*, He took water to *Rotterdam* (which Town he chose for his residing place, during the time of his stay in *Holland*) and sent thither to a Friend of his, a Gentleman of Quality, to provide him some Lodgings; which he did, and procured them at the house of one Mrs. *Beynham*, Widow to an English Merchant, who had always been very Loyal to His Majesty the King of *England*, and serviceable to His Majesties faithful Subjects in whatsoever lay in his Power.

My Lord being come to *Rotterdam*, was informed that His Highness the Prince (now our Gracious King) was gone to Sea: Wherefore he resolved to follow him, and for that purpose hired a Boat, and victual'd it; but since nobody knew whither His Highness was gone, and I being unwilling that my Lord should venture upon so uncertain a Voyage, and (as the Proverb is) *Seek a Needle in a Bottle of Hay*, he desisted from that design: The Lord *Widdrington* nevertheless, and Sir *Will. Throckmorton*, being resolved to find out the Prince, but having by a storm been driven towards the Coast of *Scotland*, and endangered their lives, they returned without obtaining their aim.

After some little time, my Lord having notice that the Prince was arrived at the *Hague*, he went to wait on His Highness (which he also did afterwards at several times, so long as His Highness continued there) expecting some opportunity where

he might be able to shew his readiness to serve His King and Countrey, as certainly there was no little hopes for it; for first, it was believed that the English fleet would come and render it self into the obedience of the Prince; next, it was reported that the Duke of *Hamilton* was going out of *Scotland* with a great Army, into *England*, to the assistance of His Majesty, and that His Majesty had then some party at *Colchester*; but it pleased God that none of these proved effectual. For the Fleet did not come in; the Duke of *Hamilton's* Army was destroyed, and *Colchester* was taken by the Enemy, where my dear Brother Sir *Charles Lucas*, and his dear Friend Sir *George Lile*, were most inhumanly murther'd and shot to death, they being both Valiant and Heroick Persons, good Soldiers, and most Loyal Subjects to His Majesty; the one an excellent Commander of Horse, the other of Foot.

My Lord having now lived in *Rotterdam* almost six months, at a great charge, keeping an open and noble Table for all comers, and being pleased especially to entertain such as were excellent Soldiers, and noted Commanders of War, whose kindness he took as a great Obligation, still hoping that some occasion would happen to invite those worthy Persons into *England* to serve His Majesty; but seeing no probability of either returning into *England*, or doing His Majesty any service in that kind, he resolved to retire to some place where he might live privately; and having chosen the City of *Antwerp* for

that purpose, went to the *Hague* to take his leave of His Highness the Prince, our now gracious Soveraign. My Lord had then but a small stock of money left; for though the then *Marquess* of *Hereford* (after Duke of *Somerset*, and his Cousin-German, once removed, the now Earl of *Devonshire* had lent him 2000l. between them; yet all that was spent, and above 1000l. more, which my Lord borrowed during the time he lived in *Rotterdam*, his Expence being the more, by reason (as I mentioned) he lived freely and nobly.

However my Lord, notwithstanding that little provision of Money he had, set forth from *Rotterdam* to *Antwerp*, where for some time he lay in a publick Inne, until one of his Friends that had a great love and respect for my Lord, Mr. *Endymion Porter*, who was Groom of the Bed-chamber to His Majesty King *Charles* the First (a place not onely honourable, but very profitable) being not willing that a Person of such Quality as my Lord, should lie in a publick House, profer'd him Lodgings at the House where he was, and would not let my Lord be at quiet, until he had accepted of them.

My Lord after he had stay'd some while there, endeavouring to find out a House for himself which might fit him and his small Family, (for at that time he had put off most of his Train) and also be for his own content, lighted on one that belonged to the Widow of a famous Picture-drawer, *Van Ruben*, which he took.

About this time my Lord was much neces-

sitated for Money, which forced him to try several ways for to obtain so much as would relieve his present wants. At last Mr. *Alesbury*, the onely Son to Sir *Th. Alesbury*, Knight and Baronet, and Brother to the now Countess of *Clarendon*, a very worthy Gentleman, and great Friend to my Lord, having some Moneys that belonged to the now Duke of *Buckingham*, and seeing my Lord in so great distress, did him the favour to lend him 200l. (which money my Lord since his return hath honestly and justly repai'd). This relief came so seasonably, that it got my Lord Credit in the City of *Antwerp*, whereas otherwise he would have lost himself to his great disadvantage; for my Lord having hired the house aforementioned, and wanting Furniture for it, was credited by the Citizens for as many Goods as he was pleased to have, as also for Meat and Drink, and all kind of necessaries and provisions, which certainly was a special Blessing of God, he being not onely a stranger in that Nation, but to all appearance, a Ruined man.

After my Lord had been in *Antwerp* sometime, where he lived as retiredly as it was possible for him to do, he gained much love and respect of all that knew or had any business with him: At the beginning of our coming thither, we found but few English (except those that were Merchants) but afterwards their number increased much, especially of Persons of Quality; and whereas at first there were no more but four Coaches that went the *Tour*, *viz.* the

Governors of the Castle, my Lords, and two more, they amounted to the number of above a hundred, before we went from thence; for all those that had sufficient means, and could go to the price, kept Coaches, and went the *Tour* for their own pleasure. And certainly I cannot in duty and conscience but give this Publick Testimony to that place. That whereas I have observ'd, that most commonly such Towns or Cities where the Prince of that Country doth not reside himself, or where there is no great resort of the chief Nobility and Gentry, are but little civilised; Certainly, the Inhabitants of the said City of *Antwerp* are the civilest, and best behaved People that ever I saw; so that my Lord lived there with as much content as a man of his condition could do, and his chief pastime and divertisement consisted in the Mannage of the two afore mentioned Horses; which he had not enjoyed long, but the *Barbary*-horse, for which he paid 200 Pistols in *Paris*, died, and soon after the Horse which he had from the Lord *Crofts*; and though he wanted present means to repair these his losses, yet he endeavoured and obtained so much Credit at last that he was able to buy two others, and by degrees so many as amounted in all to the number of 8. In which he took so much delight and pleasure, that though he was then in distress for Money, yet he would sooner have tried all other ways, then parted with any of them; for I have hear'd him say, that good Horses are so rare, as not to be valued for Money, and that He who would buy him out of his

Pleasure (meaning his Horses), must pay dear for it. For instance I shall mention some passages which happen'd when My Lord was in *Antwerp*.

First; A stranger coming thither, and seeing My Lords Horses, had a great mind to buy one of them, which my Lord loved above the rest, and called him his Favourite, a fine *Spanish* Horse; intreating my Lords Escuyer to acquaint him with his desire, and ask the price of the said Horse: My Lord, when he heard of it, commanded his Servant, that if the Chapman returned, he should be brought before him; which being done accordingly, my Lord asked him, whether he was resolved to buy his *Spanish* Horse? Yes, answered he, my Lord, and I'le give your Lordship a good price for him. I make no doubt of it, replied My Lord, or else you shall not have him: But you must know, said he, that the price of that Horse is 1000*l*. to day, to morrow it will be 2000*l*. next day 3000*l*. and so forth. By which the Chapman perceiving that my Lord was unwilling to part with the said Horse for any Money, took his leave, and so went his ways.

The next was, That the Duke *de Guise*, who was also a great lover of good Horses, hearing much Commendation of a gray leaping Horse, which my Lord then had, told the Gentleman that praised and commended him, That if my Lord was willing to sell the said Horse, he would give 600 Pistols for him. The Gentleman knowing my Lords humour, answered again, That he was confident, my

Lord would never part with him for any mony, and to that purpose sent a Letter to my Lord from *Paris*; but my Lord was so far from selling that Horse, that he was displeased to hear that any Price should be offer'd for him: So great a Love hath my Lord for good Horses! And certainly I have observed, and do verily believe, that some of them had also a particular Love to my Lord; for they seemed to rejoice whensoever he came into the Stables, by their trampling action, and the noise they made; nay, they would go much better in the Mannage, when my Lord was by, then when he was absent; and when he rid them himself, they seemed to take much pleasure and pride in it. But of all sorts of Horses, my Lord loved *Spanish* Horses and *Barbes* best; saying, That *Spanish* Horses were like Princes, and *Barbes* like Gentlemen, in their kind. And this was the chief Recreation and Pastime my Lord had in *Antwerp*.

I will now return to my former Discourse, and the Relation of some Important Affairs and Actions which happen'd about this time: His Majesty (our now Gracious King, *Charles* the Second) some time after he was gone out of *Holland*, and returned into *France*, took his Journey from thence to *Breda* (if I remember well) to treat there with his Subjects of *Scotland*, who had then made some offers of Agreement: My Lord, according to his duty, went thither to wait on His Majesty, and was there in Council with His Majesty, His Highness the then Prince of *Orange*, His Majesties Brother-in-

law, and some other Privy-Counsellors; in which, after several Debates concerning that Important Affair, His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and my Lord, agreed in one Opinion, *viz.* That they could perceive no other and better way at that present for His Majesty, but to make an Agreement with His Subjects of *Scotland*, upon any Condition, and to go into *Scotland* in Person Himself, that he might but be sure of an Army, there being no probability or appearance then of getting an Army any where else. Which Counsel, either out of the then alledged Reasons, or some others best known to His Majesty, was embraced; His Majesty agreeing with the *Scots* so far, (notwithstanding they were so unreasonable in their Treaty, that His Majesty had hardly Patience to hear them) that he resolved to go into *Scotland* in Person; and though my Lord had an earnest desire to wait on His Majesty thither, yet the *Scots* would not suffer him to come, or be in any part of that Kingdom: Wherefore out of his Loyalty and Duty, he gave His Majesty the best advice he could, *viz.* that he conceived it most safe for His Majesty to adhere to the Earl of *Argyle's* Party, which he supposed to be the strongest; but especially, to reconcile *Hamilton's* and *Argyle's* Party, and compose the differences between them; for then His Majesty would be sure of Two Parties, whereas otherwise He would leave an Enemy behind Him, which might cause His overthrow, and endanger His Majesties Person; and if His Majesty could but get the Power into his

own hands, he might do hereafter what he pleased.

His Majesty being arrived in *Scotland*, ordered his affairs so wisely, that soon after he got an Army to march with him into *England;* but whether they were all Loyal, is not for me to dispute: However, *Argyle* was discontented, as it appear'd by two complaining Letters he sent to my Lord, which my Lord gave His Majesty notice of; so that onely the Duke of *Hamilton* went with His Majesty, who fought and died like a Valiant Man, and a Loyal subject. In this fight between the *English* and *Scots*, His Majesty expressed an extraordinary Courage; and though his Army was in a manner destroyed, yet the Glory of an Heroick Prince remained with our gracious Soveraign.

In the mean time, whilest His Majesty was yet in *Scotland*, and before he marched with His Army into *England*, it happen'd that the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and Duke of *Newburg*, upon some differences, having raised Forces against each other, but afterwards concluded a Peace between them, were pleased to profer those Forces to my Lord for His Majesties use and service, which (as the Lord Chancellour, who was then in *France*, sent word to my Lord) was the onely Foreign profer that had been made to his Majesty. My Lord immediately gave His Majesty notice of it; but whether it was for want of convenient Transportation, or Mony, or that the *Scots* did not like the assistance, that profer was not accepted.

Concerning the affairs and intrigues that pass'd in *Scotland*, and *England*, during the time of His Majesties stay there, I am ignorant of them; neither doth it belong to me now to write, or give an account of any thing else but what concerns the History of my Noble Lord and Husbands Life, and his own Actions; who so soon as he had Intelligence that the *Scottish* Army, which went with His Majesty into *England*, was defeated, and that no body knew what was become of His Majesty, fell into so violent a Passion, that I verily believed it would have endanger'd his life; but when afterwards the happy news came of His Majesties safe arrival in *France*, never any Subject could rejoice more then my Lord did.

About this time it chanced, that my Lords Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish*, and my self, took a journey into *England*, occasioned both by my Lord's extream want and necessity, and his Brothers Estate; which having been under Sequestration from the time (or soon after) he went out of *England*, was then, in case he did not return and compound for it, to be sold out-right; Sir *Charles* was unwilling to receive his Estate upon such conditions, and would rather have lost it, then compounded for it: But my Lord considering it was better to recover something, then lose all, intreated the Lord Chancellour, who was then in *Antwerp*, to perswade his Brother to a composition, which his Lordship did very effectually, and proved himself a Noble and true Friend in it. We had so small a Provision of money when we set

forth our Journey for *England*, that it was hardly able to carry us to *London*, but were forced to stay at *Southwark*; where Sir *Charles* sent into *London* for one that had formerly been his Steward; and having declared to him his wants and necessities, desir'd him to try his Credit. He seemed ready to do his Master what service he could in that kind; but pretending withall, that his Credit was but small, Sir *Charles* gave him his Watch to pawn, and with that money paid those small scores we had made in our Lodging there. From thence we went to some other Lodgings that were prepared for us in *Covent-Garden*; and having rested our selves some time, I desired my Brother the Lord *Lucas*, to claim, in my behalf, some subsistance for my self out of my Lords Estate, (for it was declared by the Parliament, That the Lands of those that were banished, should be sold to any that would buy them, onely their Wives and Children were allowed to put in their Claims:) But he received this Answer, That I could not expect the least allowance, by reason my Lord and Husband had been the greatest Traitor of *England* (that is to say, the honestest man, because he had been most against them).

Then Sir *Charles* intrusted some persons to compound for his Estate; but it being a good while before they agreed in their Composition, and then before the Rents could be received, we having in the mean time nothing to live on, must of necessity have been starved, had not Sir *Charles* got some

Credit of several Persons, and that not without great difficulty; for all those that had Estates, were afraid to come near him, much less to assist him, until he was sure of his own Estate. So much is Misery and Poverty shun'd!

But though our Condition was hard, yet my dear Lord and Husband, whom we left in *Antwerp*, was then in a far greater distress then our selves; for at our departure he had nothing but what his Credit was able to procure him; and having run upon the score so long without paying any the least part thereof, his Creditors began to grow impatient, and resolved to trust him no longer: Wherefore he sent me word, That if his Brother did not presently relieve him, he was forced to starve. Which doleful news caused great sadness and melancholy in us both, and withal made his Brother try his utmost endeavour to procure what moneys he could for his subsistance, who at last got 200 l. *sterl.* upon Credit, which he immediately made over to my Lord.

But in the mean time, before the said money could come to his hands, my Lord had been forced to send for all his Creditors, and declare to them his great wants and necessities; where his Speech was so effectual, and made such an impression in them, that they had all a deep sense of my Lords Misfortunes; and instead of urging the payment of his Debts, promised him, That he should not want any thing in whatsoever they were able to assist him; which they also very nobly and civilly performed, furnishing him

with all manner of provisions and necessaries for his further subsistance; so that my Lord was then in a much better condition amongst strangers, then we in our Native Countrey.

At last when Sir *Charles Cavendish* had compounded for his Estate, and agreed to pay 4500 l. for it, the Parliament caused it again to be surveyed, and made him pay 500 l. more, which was more then many others had paid for much greater Estates; so that Sir *Charles* to pay this Composition, and discharge some Debts, was necessitated to sell some Land of his at an under-rate. My Lords two Sons (who were also in *England* at that time) were no less in want and necessity, then we, having nothing but bare Credit to live on; and my Lords Estate being then to be sold outright, Sir *Charles*, his Brother, endeavoured, if possible, to save the two chief Houses, *viz. Welbeck* and *Bolsover*, being resolved rather to part with some more of his Land, which he had lately compounded for, then to let them fall into the Enemies hands; but before such time as he could compass the money, some body had bought *Bolsover*, with an intention to pull it down, and make money of the Materials; of whom Sir *Charles* was forced to buy it again at a far greater Rate then he might have had it at first, notwithstanding a great part of it was pulled down already; and though my Lords eldest Son *Charles* Lord *Mansfield*, had those mentioned Houses some time in possession, after the death of his Uncle; yet for want of Means he was not able to repair them.

I having now been in *England* a year and a half, some Intelligence which I received of my Lords being not very well, and the small hopes I had of getting some relief out of his Estate, put me upon design of returning to *Antwerp* to my Lord; and Sir *Charles*, his Brother, took the same resolution, but was prevented by an Ague that seized upon him. Not long had I been with my Lord, but we received the sad news of his Brothers death, which was an extream affliction both to my Lord, and my self, for they loved each other entirely: In truth, He was a Person of so great worth, such extraordinary civility, so obliging a Nature, so full of Generosity, Justice and Charity, besides all manner of Learning, especially in the *Mathematicks*, that not onely his Friends, but even his Enemies, did much lament his loss.

After my return out of *England*, to my Lord, the Creditors supposing I had brought great store of money along with me, came all to my Lord to solicite the payment of their Debts; but when my Lord had informed them of the truth of the business, and desired their patience somewhat longer, with assurance that so soon as he received any money, he would honestly and justly satisfie them, they were not onely willing to forbear the payment of those Debts he had contracted hitherto, but to credit him for the future, and supply him with such Necessaries as he should desire of them. And this was the onely happiness which my Lord had in his distressed condition, and the chief blessing of the Eternal and Merciful God, in whose

Power are all things, who ruled the hearts and minds of men, and filled them with Charity and Compassion; for certainly it was a work of Divine Providence, that they shewed so much love, respect and honour to my Lord, a stranger to their Nation; and notwithstanding his ruined Condition, and the small appearance of recovering his own, credited him wheresoever he lived, both in *France*, *Holland*, *Brabant* and *Germany*; that although my Lord was banished his Native Countrey, and dispossessed from his own Estate, could nevertheless live in so much Splendor and Grandure as he did.

In this Condition (and how little soever the appearance was) my Lord was never without hopes of seeing yet (before his death) a happy issue of all his misfortunes and sufferings, especially of the Restauration of His most Gracious King and Master, to His Throne and Kingly Rights, whereof he always had assured Hopes, well knowing, that it was impossible for the Kingdom to subsist long under so many changes of Government; and whensoever I expressed how little faith I had in it, he would gently reprove me, saying, I believ'd least, what I desir'd most; and could never be happy if I endeavour'd to exclude all hopes, and entertain'd nothing but doubts and fears.

The City of *Antwerp* in which we lived, being a place of great resort for Strangers and Travellers, His Majesty (our now gracious King, *Charles* the Second) passed thorough it, when he went his Journey towards *Germany*; and after my Lord had done his humble duty,

and waited on His Majesty, He was pleased to Honour him with his Presence at his House. The same did almost all strangers that were Persons of Quality; if they made any stay in the Town, they would come and visit my Lord, and see the Mannage of his Horses: And, amongst the rest, the Duke of *Oldenburg*, and the Prince of *East-Friesland*, did my Lord the Honour, and presented him with Horses of their own breed.

One time it happen'd, that His Highness *Dom John d' Austria* (who was then Governour of those Provinces) came to *Antwerp*, and stayed there some few days; and then almost all his Court waited on my Lord, so that one day I reckoned about seventeen Coaches, in which were all Persons of Quality, who came in the morning of purpose to see my Lord's Mannage; My Lord receiving so great an honour thought it fit to shew his respect and civility to them, and to ride some of his Horses himself, which otherwise he never did but for his own excercise and delight. Amongst the rest of those great and noble Persons, there were two of our Nation, *viz.* the then Marquess, now Duke of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Bristol*; but *Dom John* was not there in Person, excusing himself afterwards to my Lord (when my Lord waited on him) that the multiplicity of his weighty affairs had hindred his coming thither, which my Lord accounted as a very high honour and favour from so great a Prince; and conceiving it his duty to wait on his Highness, but being unknown to him, the Earl of *Bristol*, who had acquaintance

with him, did my Lord the favour, and upon his request, presented him to his Highness; which favour of the said Earl my Lord highly resented.

Dom John received my Lord with all kindness and respect; for although there were many great and noble Persons that waited on him in an out room, yet so soon as his Highness heard of my Lord's, and the Earl of *Bristol's* being there, he was pleased to admit them before all the rest. My Lord, after he had passed his Complements, told His Highness, That he found himself bound in all duty to make his humble acknowledgments for the Favour he received from His Catholick Majesty for permitting and suffering him (a banished man) to live in His Dominions, and under the Government of His Highness; whereupon *Dom John* ask'd my Lord whether he wanted any thing, and whether he liv'd peaceably without any molestation or disturbance? My Lord answer'd, That he lived as much to his own content as a banish'd man could do; and received more respect and civility from that City then he could have expected, for which he returned his most humble thanks to his Catholick Majesty, and His Highness. After some short Discourse, my Lord took his leave of *Dom John;* Several of the *Spaniards* advising him to go into *Spain*, and assuring him of His Catholick Majesties Kindness and Favour; but my Lord being engaged in the City of *Antwerp*, and besides in years, and wanting means for so long and chargeable a voyage, was not able to embrace their

motions; and surely he was so well pleased with the great Civilities he received from that City, that then he was resolved to chuse no other residing place all the time of his banishment but that; he being not onely credited there for all manner of Provisions and Necessaries for his subsistance, but also free both from ordinary and extraordinary Taxes, and from paying Excise, which was a great favour and obligation to my Lord.

After His Highness *Dom John* had left the Government of those Provinces the Marquess of *Caracena* succeeded in his place, who having a great desire to see my Lord ride in the Mannage, entreated a Gentleman of the City, that was acquainted with my Lord, to beg that favour of him. My Lord having not been at that Exercise six weeks, or two months, by reason of some sickness that made him unfit for it, civilly begg'd his excuse; but he was so much importuned by the said Gentleman that at last he granted his Request, and rid one or two Horses in presence of the said Marquess of *Caracena*, and the then Marquess, now Duke of *Ormond*, who often used to honour my Lord with his Company. The said Marquess of *Caracena* seem'd to take much pleasure and satisfaction in it, and highly complemented my Lord; and certainly I have observed, That Noble and Meritorious persons take great delight in honouring each other.

But not onely strangers, but His Majesty Himself (our now Gracious Soveraign) was pleased to see my Lord ride, and one time did ride Himself, He being an Excellent

Master of that Art, and instructed by my Lord, who had the Honour to set Him first on a Horse of Mannage, when he was His Governour; where His Majesties Capacity was such, that being but Ten years of Age, he would ride leaping Horses, and such as would overthrow others, and mannage them with the greatest Skill and Dexterity, to the admiration of all that beheld Him.

Nor was this the onely Honour my Lord received from His Majesty, but His Majesty and all the Royal Race; that is to say, Her Highness the then Princess Royal, His Highness the Duke of *York*, with His Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, (except the Princesse *Henrietta*, now Duchess of *Orleans*,) being met one time in *Antwerp*, were pleased to honour my Lord with their Presence, and accept of a small Entertainment at his House, such as his present Condition was able to afford them. And some other time His Majesty passing through the City was pleased to accept of a private Dinner at my Lord's House; after which I receiving that gracious Favour from His Majesty, that he was pleased to see me, he did merrily and in jest, tell me, *That he perceived my Lord's Credit could procure better Meat then His own.* Again, some other time, upon a merry Challenge playing a Game at Butts with my Lord (when my Lord had the better of Him), *What* (said He) *my Lord, have you invited me to play the Rook with me?* Although their Stakes were not at all considerable, but onely for Pastime.

These passages I mention onely to declare

my Lord's happiness in his miseries, which he received by the honour and kindness not onely of foreign Princes, but of his own Master and Gracious Soveraign: I will not speak now of the good esteem and repute he had by his late Majesty King *Charles* the First, and Her Majesty the now Queen-Mother, who always held and found him a very loyal and faithful Subject, although Fortune was pleased to oppose him in the height of his endeavours; for his onely and chief intention was to hinder His Majesties Enemies from executing that cruel design which they had upon their gracious and merciful King; In which he tried his uttermost power, in so much that I have heard him say out of a passionate Zeal and Loyalty, That he would willingly sacrifice himself and all his Posterity, for the sake of his Majesty and the Royal Race. Nor did he ever repine either at his losses or sufferings, but rejoyced rather that he was able to suffer for His King and Countrey. His Army was the onely Army that was able to uphold His Majesties Power; which so long as it was Victorious it preserved both His Majesties Person and Crown; but so soon as it fell, that fell too: and my Lord was then in a manner forced to seek his own preservation in foreign Countries, where God was pleased to make strangers his Friends, who received and protected him when he was banished his native Country, and relieved him when his own Country-men sought to starve him, by withholding from him what was justly his own, onely for his Honesty and Loyalty; which relief he re-

ceived more from the Commons of those parts where he lived, then from Princes, he being unwilling to trouble any foreign Prince with his wants and miseries, well knowing, that Gifts of Great Princes come slowly, and not without much difficulty; neither loves he to petition any one but His own Soveraign.

But though my Lord by the civility of Strangers, and the assistance of some few Friends of his native Country, lived in an indifferent Condition, yet (as it hath been declared heretofore) he was put to great plunges and difficulties, in so much that his dear Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish* would often say, That though he could not truly complain of want, yet his meat never did him good by reason my Lord, his Brother, was always so near wanting, that he was never sure after one meal to have another: And though I was not afraid of starving or begging, yet my chief fear was, that my Lord for his debts would suffer Imprisonment, where sadness of Mind, and want of Exercise, and Air, would have wrought his destruction, which yet by the Mercy of God he happily avoided.

Some time before the Restauration of His Majesty to his Royal Throne, my Lord, partly with the remainder of his Brothers Estate, which was but little, it being wasted by selling of Land for compounding with the Parliament, paying of several debts, and buying out the two Houses aforementioned, *viz. Welbeck* and *Bolsover*; and the Credit which his Sons had got, which amounted

in all to 2400l. a year, sprinkled something amongst his Creditors, and borrowed so much of Mr. *Top* and Mr. *Smith* (though without assurance) that he could pay such scores as were most pressing, contracted from the poorer sort of Trades-men, and send ready mony to Market, to avoid cozenage (for small scores run up most unreasonably, especially if no strict accounts be kept, and the rate be left to the Creditors pleasure) by which means there was in a short time so much saved, as it could not have been imagined.

About this time, a report came of a great number of Sectaries, and of several disturbances in *England*, which heightned my Lord's former hopes into a firm belief of a sudden Change in that Kingdom, and a happy Restauration of His Majesty, which it also pleased God to send according to his expectation; for His Majesty was invited by his Subjects, who were not able longer to endure those great confusions and encumbrances they had sustained hitherto, to take possession of His Hereditary Rights, and the power of all his Dominions: And being then at the *Hague* in *Holland*, to take shipping in those parts for *England*, my Lord went thither to wait on his Majesty, who used my Lord very Graciously; and his Highness the Duke of *York* was pleased to offer him one of those Ships that were ordered to transport His Majesty; for which he returned his most humble thanks to his Highness, and begg'd leave of His Highness that he might hire a Vessel for himself and his Company.

In the mean time whilst my Lord was at the *Hague*, His Majesty was pleased to tell him, That General *Monk*, now Duke of *Albemarle*, had desired the Place of being Master of the Horse: To which my Lord answer'd, That that gallant Person was worthy of any Favour that His Majesty could confer upon him: And having taken his leave of His Majesty, and His Highness the Duke of *York*, went towards the Ship that was to transport him for *England*, (I might better call it a Boat, then a Ship; for those that were intrusted by my Lord to hire a Ship for that purpose, had hired an old rotten Fregat, that was lost the next Voyage after; insomuch, that when some of the Company that had promised to go over with my Lord, saw it, they turn'd back, and would not endanger their lives in it, except the now Lord *Widdrington*, who was resolved not to forsake my Lord).

My Lord (who was so transported with the joy of returning into his Native Countrey, that he regarded not the Vessel) having set Sail from *Rotterdam*, was so becalmed, that he was six dayes and six nights upon the Water, during which time he pleased himself with mirth, and pass'd his time away as well as he could; Provisions he wanted not, having them in great store and plenty. At last being come so far that he was able to discern the smoak of *London*, which he had not seen in a long time, he merrily was pleased to desire one that was near him, to jogg and awake him out of his dream, for surely, said he, I have been sixteen years

asleep, and am not throughly awake yet. My Lord lay that night at *Greenwich*, where his Supper seem'd more savoury to him, then any meat he had hitherto tasted; and the noise of some scraping Fidlers, he thought the pleasantest harmony that ever he had heard.

In the mean time my Lords Son, *Henry* Lord *Mansfield*, now Earl of *Ogle*, was gone to *Dover* with intention to wait on His Majesty, and receive My Lord his Father, with all joy and duty, thinking he had been with His Majesty; but when he miss'd of his design, he was very much troubled, and more, when His Majesty was pleas'd to tell him, That my Lord had set to Sea, before His Majesty Himself was gone out of *Holland*, fearing my Lord had met with some Misfortune in his Journey, because he had not heard of his Landing. Wherefore he immediately parted from *Dover*, to seek my Lord, whom at last he found at *Greenwich*; with what joy they embraced and saluted each other, my Pen is too weak to express.

But all this while, and after my Lord was gone from *Antwerp*, I was left alone there with some of my servants; for my Lord being in *Holland* with His Majesty, declared in a Letter to me his intention of going for *England*, withal commanding me to stay in that City, as a Pawn for his debts, until he could compass money to discharge them; and to excuse him to the Magistrates of the said City for not taking his leave of them, and paying his due thanks for their great

civilities, which he desired me to do in his behalf. And certainly my Lords affection to me was such, that it made him very industrious in providing those means; for it being uncertain what or whether he should have any thing of his Estate, made it a difficult business for him to borrow Mony; At last he received some of one Mr. *Ash*, now Sir *Joseph Ash*, a Merchant of *Antwerp*, which he returned to me; but what with the expence I had made in the mean while, and what was required for my transporting into *England*, besides the debts formerly contracted, the said money fell too short by 400l. and although I could have upon my own word taken up much more, yet I was unwilling to leave an engagement amongst strangers: Wherefore I sent for one Mr. *Shaw*, now Sir *John Shaw*, a near kindsman to the said Mr. *Ash*, intreating him to lend me 400l. which he did most readily, and so discharged my debts.

My departure being now divulged in *Antwerp*, the Magistrates of the City came to take their leaves of me, where I desired one Mr. *Duart* a very worthy Gentleman, and one of the chief of the City, though he derives his Race from the *Portugues* (to whom and his Sisters, all very skilful in the Art of Musick, though for their own pastime and Recreation, both my Lord and my self were much bound for their great civilities) to be my Interpreter. They were pleased to express that they were sorry for our departure out of their City, but withal rejoyced at our happy returning into

our Native Country, and wished me soon and well to the place where I most desired to be : Whereupon I having excused my Lord's hasty going away without taking his leave of them, returned them mine and my Lord's hearty Thanks for their great civilities, declaring how sorry I was that it lay not in my power to make an acknowledgment answerable to them. But after their departure from me, they were pleased to send their Under-Officers (as the custom there is) with a Present of Wine, which I received with all respect and thankfulness.

I being thus prepar'd for my Voyage, went with my Servants to *Flussing*, and finding no *English* Man of War there, being loth to trust my self with a less Vessel, was at last informed that a *Dutch* man of War lay there ready to Convoy some Merchants ; I forthwith sent for the Captain thereof, whose name was *Bankert*, and asked him whether it was possible to obtain the favour of having the use of his Ship to transport me into *England ?* To which he answered, That he question'd not but I might ; for the Merchants which he was to convey, were not ready yet, desiring me to send one of my servants to the State, to request that favour of them ; with whom he would go himself, and assist him the best he could ; which he also did. My suit being granted, my self and my chief servants embarqued in the said Ship ; the rest, together with the Goods, being conveyed in another good strong Vessel, hired for that purpose.

After I was safely arrived at *London*, I found my Lord in Lodgings; I cannot call them unhandsome; but yet they were not fit for a Person of his Rank and Quality, nor of the capacity to contain all his Family: Neither did I find my Lord's Condition such as I expected: Wherefore out of some passion I desir'd him to leave the Town, and retire into the Countrey; but my Lord gently reproved me for my rashness and impatience, and soon after removed into *Dorset*-house; which, though it was better then the former, yet not altogether to my satisfaction, we having but a part of the said House in possession. By this removal I judged my Lord would not hastily depart from *London;* but not long after, he was pleased to tell me, That he had dispatched his business, and was now resolved to remove into the Country, having already given order for Waggons to transport our goods, which was no unpleasant news to me, who had a great desire for a Countrey-life.

My Lord before he began his Journey, went to his Gracious Soveraign, and begg'd leave that he might retire into the Countrey, to reduce and settle, if possible, his confused, entangled, and almost ruined Estate, *Sir*, said he to His Majesty, *I am not ignorant, that many believe I am discontented; and 'tis probable they'l say, I retire through discontent: But I take God to witness, That I am in no kind or ways displeas'd; for I am so joyed at your Majesties happy Restauration, that I cannot be sad or troubled for any*

Concern to my own particular; but whatsoever Your Majesty is pleased to command me, were it to sacrifice my Life, I shall most obediently perform it; for I have no other Will, but Your Majesties Pleasure.

Thus he kissed His Majesty's hand, and went the next day into *Nottingham-shire*, to his Mannor-house call'd *Welbeck*; but when he came there, and began to examine his Estate, and how it had been ordered in the time of his Banishment, he knew not whether he had left any thing of it for himself, or not, till by his prudence and wisdom he inform'd himself the best he could, examining those that had most knowledg therein. Some Lands, he found, could be recover'd no further then for his life, and some not at all: Some had been in the Rebels hands, which he could not recover, but by His Highness the Duke of *York's* favour, to whom His Majesty had given all the Estates of those that were condemned and executed for murdering his Royal Father of blessed memory, which by the Law were forfeited to His Majesty; whereof His Highness graciously restor'd my Lord so much of the Land that formerly had been his, as amounted to 730l. a year. And though my Lord's Children had their Claims granted, and bought out the life of my Lord, their Father, which came near upon the third part, yet my Lord received nothing for himself out of his own Estate, for the space of eighteen years, viz. During the time from the first entring into Warr, which was *June* 11. 1642, till his return out of Banishment,

May 28. 1660; for though his Son *Henry*, now Earl of *Ogle*, and his eldest Daughter, the now Lady *Cheiny*, did all what lay in their power to relieve my Lord their Father, and sent him some supplies of moneys at several times when he was in banishment; yet that was of their own, rather then out of my Lord's Estate; for the Lady *Cheiny* sold some few Jewels which my Lord, her Father, had left her, and some Chamber-Plate which she had from her Grandmother, and sent over the money to my Lord, besides 1000l. of her Portion: And the now Earl of *Ogle* did at several times supply my Lord, his Father, with such moneys as he had partly obtained upon Credit, and partly made by his Marriage.

After my Lord had begun to view those Ruines that were nearest, and tried the Law to keep or recover what formerly was his, (which certainly shew'd no favour to him, besides that the Act of Oblivion proved a great hinderance and obstruction to those his designs, as it did no less to all the Royal Party) and had setled so much of his Estate as possibly he could, he cast up the Summ of his Debts, and set out several parts of Land for the payment of them, or of some of them (for some of his Lands could not be easily sold, being entailed) and some he sold in *Derbyshire* to buy the Castle of *Nottingham*, which although it is quite ruined and demolisht, yet, it being a seat which had pleased his Father very much, he would not leave it since it was offer'd to be sold.

His two Houses *Welbeck* and *Bolsover* he found much out of repair, and this later half pull'd down, no furniture or any necessary Goods were left in them, but some few Hangings and Pictures, which had been saved by the care and industry of his Eldest Daughter the Lady *Cheiny*, and were bought over again after the death of his eldest Son *Charles*, Lord *Mansfield;* for they being given to him, and he leaving some debts to be paid after his death, My Lord sent to his other Son *Henry*, now Earl of *Ogle*, to endeavour for so much Credit, that the said Hangings and Pictures (which my Lord esteemed very much, the Pictures being drawn by *Van Dyke*) might be saved; which he also did, and My Lord hath paid the debt since his return.

Of eight Parks, which my Lord had before the Wars, there was but one left that was not quite destroyed, *viz. Welbeck*-Park of about four miles compass; for my Lord's Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish*, who bought out the life of my Lord in that Lordship, saved most part of it from being cut down; and in *Blore*-Park there were some few Deer left: The rest of the Parks were totally defaced and destroyed, both Wood, Pales and Deer; amongst which was also *Clipston*-Park of seven miles compass, wherein my Lord had taken much delight formerly, it being rich of Wood, and containing the greatest and tallest Timber-trees of all the Woods he had; in so much, that onely the Pale-row was valued at 2000l. It was water'd by a pleasant River that runs through it, full

of fish and Otters; was well stock'd with Deer, full of Hares, and had great store of Partriges, Poots, Pheasants, &c. besides all sorts of Water-fowl; so that this Park afforded all manner of sports, for Hunting, Hawking, Coursing, Fishing, &c. for which my Lord esteemed it very much: And although his Patience and Wisdom is such, that I never perceived him sad or discontented for his own Losses and Misfortunes, yet when he beheld the ruines of that Park, I observed him troubled, though he did little express it, onely saying, he had been in hopes it would not have been so much defaced as he found it, there being not one Timber-tree in it left for shelter. However he patiently bore what could not be helped, and gave present order for the cutting down of some Wood that was left him in a place near adjoining, to repale it, and got from several Friends Deer to stock it.

Thus though his Law-suits and other unavoidable expences were very chargeable to him, yet he order'd his affairs so prudently, that by degrees he stock'd and manur'd those Lands he keeps for his own use, and in part repaired his Mannor-houses, *Welbeck* and *Bolsover*, to which latter he made some additional building; and though he has not yet built the Seat at *Nottingham*, yet he hath stock'd and paled a little Park belonging to it.

Nor is it possible for him to repair all the ruines of the Estate that is left him, in so short a time, they being so great, and his losses so considerable, that I cannot without

grief and trouble remember them; for before the Wars my Lord had as great an Estate as any subject in the Kingdom, descended upon him most by Women, *viz.* by his Grandmother of his Father's side, his own Mother, and his first Wife.

What Estate his Grandfather left to his Father Sir *Charles Cavendish*, I know not; nor can I exactly tell what he had from his Grandmother, but she was very rich; for her third Husband Sir *Will.* Saint *Loo*, gave her a good Estate in the West, which afterwards descended upon my Lord, my Lord's Mother being the younger daughter of the Lord *Ogle*, and sole Heir, after the death of her eldest Sister *Jane*, Countess of *Shrewsbury*, whom King *Charles* the First restored to her Fathers Dignity, *viz.* Baroness of *Ogle*: This Title descended upon my Lord and his Heirs General, together with 3000l. a year in *Northumberland*; and besides the Estate left to my Lord, she gave him 20000l. in Money, and kept him and his Family at her own charge for several years.

My Lord's first Wife, who was Daughter and Heir to *William Basset* of *Blore*, Esq; Widow to *Henry Howard*, younger Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, brought my Lord 2400l. a Year Inheritance, between six and seven thousand Pounds in Money, and a jointure for her life of 800l. a Year. Besides my Lord increased his own Estate before the Wars, to the value of 100000l. and had increased it more, had not the unhappy Wars prevented him; for though he had some disadvantages in his Estate, even

before the Wars, yet they are not considerable to those he suffered afterwards for the service of his King and Country: For example, His Father Sir *Charles Cavendish* had lent his Brother in Law *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury* 16000l. for which, although afterward before his death he setled 2000l. a year upon him; yet he having injoyed the said Money for many years without paying any use for it, it might have been improved to my Lord's better advantage, had it been in his Fathers own hands, he being a Person of great prudence in managing his Estate; and though the said Earl of *Shrewsbury* made my Lord his Executor, yet my Lord was so far from making any advantage by that Trust, even in what the Law allowed him, that he lost 17000l. by it; and afterwards delivered up his Trust to *William* Earl of *Pembrook*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, who both married two Daughters of the said Earl of *Shrewsbury*; And since his return into *England*, upon the desire of *Henry Howard*, Second Son to the late Earl of *Arundel*, and Heir apparent, (by reason of his Eldest Brother's Distemper) he resigned his Trust and Interest to him, which certainly is a very difficult business, and yet questionable whether it may lawfully be done, or not? But such was my Lord's Love to the Family of the *Shrewsburies*, that he would rather wrong himself, then it.

To mention some lawful advantages which my Lord might have made by the said Trust, it may be noted in the first place, That the

Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Estate was Let in long Leases, which, by the Law, fell to the Executor. Next, that after some Debts and Legacies were paid out of those Lands, which were set out for that purpose, they were setled so, that they fell to my Lord. Thirdly, Seven hundred pounds a year was left as a Gift to my Lord's Brother, Sir *Charles Cavendish*, in case the Countess of *Kent*, Second Daughter to the said Earl of *Shrewsbury*, had no Children. But my Lord never made any advantage for himself, of all these; neither was he inquisitive whether the said Countess of *Kent* cut off the Entail of that Land, although she never had a Child; for my Lord's Nature is so generous, that he hates to be Mercenary, and never minds his own profit or Interest in any Trust or Employment, more then the good and benefit of him that intrusts or employs him.

But, as I said heretofore, these are but petty Losses in comparison of those he sustained by the late Civil Warrs, whereof I shall partly give you an account: I say partly; for though it may be computed what the loss of the Annual Rents of his Lands amounts to, of which he never received the least worth for himself and his own profit, during the time both of his being employed in the Service of Warr, and his Sufferings in Banishment; as also the loss of those Lands that are alienated from him, both in present possession, and in reversion; and of his Parks and Woods that were cut dwon; yet it is impossible to

render an exact account of his Personal Estate.

As for his Rents during the time he acted in the Warrs, though he suffer'd others to gather theirs for their own use, yet his own either went for the use of the Army, or fell into the hands of the Enemy, or were suppress'd and with-held from him by the Cozenage of his Tenants and Officers, my Lord being then not able to look after them himself.

About the time when His late Majesty undertook the expedition into *Scotland* for the suppressing of some insurrection that happened there; My Lord, as afore is mentioned, amongst the rest, lent His Majesty 10000l. *sterling*; But having newly married a Daughter to the then Lord *Brackly*, now Earl of *Bridgwater*, whose portion was 12000l. the moiety whereof was paid in Gold on the day of her marriage, and the rest soon after (although she was too young to be bedded). This, together with some other expences, caused him to take up the said 10000l. at Interest, the Use whereof he paid many years after.

Also when after his sixteen years Banishment, he returned into *England*, before he knew what Estate was left him, and was able to receive any Rents of his own, he was necessitated to take 5000l. upon Use for the maintenance of himself and his Family; whereof the now Earl of *Devonshire*, his Cousin German, once removed, lent him 1000l. for which and the former 1000l. mentioned heretofore, he never desired nor

received any Use from my Lord, which I mention, to declare the favour and bounty of that Noble Lord.

But though it is impossible to render an exact account of all the losses which My Lord has sustained by the said Wars, yet as far as they are accountable, I shall endeavour to represent them in these following Particulars :

In the first place, I shall give you a just particular of My Lords Estate in Lands, as it was before the Wars, partly according to the value of his own Surveighers, and partly according to the rate it is let, at this present.

Next, I shall accompt the Woods cut down by the Rebellious Party, in several places of My Lords Estate.

Thirdly, I shall compute the Value of those Lands which My Lord hath lost, both in present possession, and in reversion ; that is to say, those which he has lost altogether, both for himself, and his Posterity ; and those he has recovered onely during the time of his life, and which his onely Son and Heir, the now Earl of *Ogle*, must lose after his Fathers decease.

Fourthly, I shall make mention, how much of Land my Lord hath been forced to sell for the payment of some of his Debts, contracted during the time of the late Civil Wars, and when his Estate was sequestred ; I say some, for there are a great many to pay yet.

To which I shall, Fifthly, add the Composition of his Brothers Estate ; and the loss of it for Eight years.

A Particular of My Lords Estate in plain Rents, as it was partly surveighed in the Year 1641, *and partly is let at this present.*

Nottingham-shire.

	l.	s.	d.
The Manor of *Welbeck* . .	600	0	0
The Manor of *Norton, Carbarton,* and the *Granges* . .	454	19	1
Warksopp	51	6	8
The Mannor-house of *Soakholm*	308	10	3
The Manor of *Clipston* & *Edwinstow*	334	9	8
Drayton	8	16	6
Dunham	99	17	8
Sutton	185	0	5
The Mannor of *Kirby*, &c. .	1075	7	2
The Mannor of *Cotham* . .	833	18	8
The Mannor of *Sitthorp* . .	704	1	0
Carcholston	450	3	0
Hauksworth, &c. . . .	139	4	2
Flawborough	512	11	8
Mearing and *Holm*-Meadow .	471	2	0
	6229	7	11

Lincoln-shire.

Wellinger and *Ingham* Meales	100	0	0

Derby-shire.

	l.	s.	d.
The Barrony of *Bolsover* and *Woodthorp*	846	8	11
The Mannor of *Chesterfield*	378	0	0
The Mannor of *Barlow*	796	17	6
Tissington	159	11	0
Dronfield	486	15	10
The Mannor of *Brampton*	142	4	8
Little-*Longston*	87	2	0
The Mannor of *Stoak*	212	3	0
Birth-Hall, and *Peak*-Forrest	131	8	0
The Mannor of *Gringlow*	156	8	0
The Mannor of *Hucklow*	162	10	8
The Mannor of *Blackwall*	306	0	4
Buxton and *Tids-Hall*	153	2	0
Mansfield-Park	100	0	0
Mappleton and *Thorp*	207	5	0
The Mannor of *Windly*-Hill	238	18	0
The Mannor of *Litchurch* and *Markworth*	713	15	1
Church and *Meynel Langly* Mannor	850	1	0
	6128	11	10

Stafford-shire.

The Mannor of *Bloar* with *Caulton*	573	13	4
The Mannor of *Grindon*, *Cauldon*, with *Waterfull*	822	3	0
The Mannor of *Cheadle* with *Kinsly*	259	18	0
The Mannor of *Barleston*, &c.	694	3	0
	2349	17	4

	l.	s.	d.
Glocester-shire.			
The Manor of *Tormorton* with *Litleton*	1193	16	0
The Mannor of *Acton Turvil* .	388	3	2
	1581	19	2
Summerset-shire.			
The Mannor of *Chewstoak* .	816	15	6
Knighton Sutton . . .	300	14	4
Stroud and *Kingsham*-Park .	186	4	0
	1303	13	10
York-shire.			
The Manors of *Slingsby*, *Hoverngham* and *Friton*, *Norththinges* and *Pomfret* . .	1700	0	0
Northumberland.			
The Barrony of *Bothal*, *Ogle* and *Hepple*, &c.	3000	0	0
Totall	22393	10	1

That this Particular of My Lords Estate was no less then is mentioned, may partly appear by the rate, as it was surveighed, and sold by the Rebellious Parliament; for they raised, towards the later end of their power, which was in the year 1652, out of my Lord's Estate, the summe of 111593l. 10s. 11d. at five years and a half Purchase, which was at above the rate of 18000l. a year, besides Woods; and his Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish's* Estate, which Estate was 2000l.

a year, which falls not much short of the mentioned account; and certainly, had they not sold such Lands at easie rates, few would have bought them, by reason the Purchasers were uncertain how long they should enjoy their purchase: Besides, Under-Officers do not usually refuse Bribes; and it is well known that the Surveighers did under-rate Estates according as they were feed by the Purchasers.

Again, many of the Estates of banished Persons were given to Soldiers for the payment of their Arrears, who again sold them to others which would buy them at easier rates. But chiefly, it appears by the rate as my Lords Estate is let at present, there being several of the mentioned Lands that are let at a higher rate now then they were surveighed; nor are they all valued in the mentioned particular according to the surveigh, but many of them which were not surveighed, are accounted according to the rate they are let at at this present.

The Loss of my Lords Estate, in plain Rents, as also upon ordinary Use, and Use upon Use, is as followeth:

The Annual Rent of My Lords Lands, *viz.* 22393l. 10s. 1d. being lost for the space of 18 years, which was the time of his acting in the Wars, and of his Banishment, without any benefit to him, reckoned without any Interest, amounts to 403083l. But being accounted with the ordinary Use at Six in the Hundred, and Use upon Use for the mentioned space of 18 Years, it amounts to 733579l.

But some perhaps will say, That if My Lord had enjoyed his Estate, he would have spent it, at least so much as to maintain himself according to his degree and quality.

I answer; That it is very improbable My Lord should have spent all his Estate, if he had enjoyed it he being a man of great Wisdom and Prudence, knowing well how to spend, and how to manage; for though he lived nobly before the time of the Wars, yet not beyond the Compass of his Estate; nay, so far he would have been from spending his Estate, that no doubt but he would have increast it to a vast value, as he did before the Wars; where notwithstanding his Hospitality and noble House-keeping, his charges of Building came to about 31000l; the portion of his second Daughter, which was 12000l; the noble entertainments he gave King *Charles* the First, one whereof came to almost 15000l. another to above 4000l, and a third to 1700l. as hereafter shall be mentioned; and his great expences during the time of his being Governour to his Majesty that now is, he yet encreased his Estate to the value of 100000l. which is 5000 *per annum*, when it was by so much less.

But if any one will reckon the charges of his House-keeping during the time of his Exile, and when he had not the enjoyment of his Estate, he may substract the sum accounted for the payment of his debts, contracted in the time of his Banishment, which went to the maintenance of himself and his Family; or in lieu thereof, con-

sidering that I do not account all My Lords losses, but onely those that are certainly known, he may compare it with the loss of his personal Estate, whereof I shall make some mention anon, and he'll find that I do not heighten my Lords Losses, but rather diminish them; for surely the losses of his personal Estate, and those I account not, will counterballance the charges of his House-keeping, if not exceed them.

Again, others will say, That there was much Land sold in the time of My Lords Banishment by his Sons, and Feoffees in Trust.

I answer, First, That whatsoever was sold, was first bought of the Rebellious Power: Next, although they sold some Lands, yet My Lord knew nothing of it, neither did he receive a penny worth for himself, neither of what they purchased, nor sold, all the time of his Banishment till his return.

And thus much of the loss of My Lords Estate in Rents: Concerning the loss of his Parks and Woods, as much as is generally known, (for I do not reckon particular Trees cut down in several of his Woods yet standing) 'tis as follows:

1. *Clipston*-Park and Woods cut down to the value of 20000 l.
2. *Kirkby*-Woods, for which my Lord was formerly proferr'd 10000 l.
3. Woods cut down in *Derbyshire* 8000 l.
4. *Red-lodg*-Wood, *Rome*-wood and others near *Welbeck* 4000 l.
5. Woods cut down in *Stafford*-shire 1000 l.
6. Woods cut down in *York*-shire 1000 l.

7. Woods cut down in *Northumberland* 1500 l.

The *Total* 45000 l.

The Lands which My Lord hath lost in present posession are 2015 l. *per annum*, which at 20 years purchase come to 40300 l. and those which he hath lost in Reversion, are 3214 l. *per annum*, which at 16 years purchase amount to the value of 51424 l.

The Lands which my Lord since his return has sold for the payment of some of his debts, occasioned by the Wars (for I do not reckon those he sold to buy others) come to the value of 56000 l. to which out of his yearly revenue he has added 10000 l. more, which is in all 66000 l.

Lastly, The Composition of his Brothers Estate was 5000 l. and the loss of it for eight years comes to 16000 l.

All which, if summ'd up together, amounts to 941303 l.

These are the accountable losses, which My Dear Lord and Husband has suffered by the late Civil Wars, and his Loyalty to his King and Country. Concerning the loss of his personal Estate, since (as I often mentioned) it cannot be exactly known; I shall not endeavour to set down the Particulars thereof, onely in General give you a Note of what partly they are:

1. The pulling down of several of his dwelling or Mannor-houses.

2. The disfurnishing of them, of which the Furniture at *Bolsover* and *Welbeck* was very noble and rich: Out of his *London*-house at *Clarken-well*, there were taken,

amongst other Goods, suits of Linnen, *viz.* Table-Cloths, Sideboard-cloths, Napkins, *&c.* whereof one suit cost 160 l. they being bought for an Entertainment which My Lord made for Their Majesties, King *Charles* the First, and the Queen, at *Bolsover*-Castle ; And of 150 Suits of Hangings of all sorts in all his Houses, there were not above 10 or 12 saved.

Of Silver-plate, My Lord had so much as came to the value of 3800 l. besides several Curiosities of Cabinets, Cups, and other things, which after My Lord was gone out of *England*, were taken out of his Mannor-house, *Welbeck*, by a Garison of the Kings Party that lay therein, whereof he recovered onely 1100 l. which Money was sent him beyond the Seas, the rest was lost.

As for Pewter, Brass, Bedding, Linnen, and other Houshold-stuff, there was nothing else left but some few old Feather-beds, and those all spoiled, and fit for no use.

3. My Lord's Stock of Corn, Cattel, *&c.* was very great before the Warrs, by reason of the largeness and capacity of those grounds, and the great number of Granges he kept for his own use ; as for example, *Barlow*, *Carkholston*, *Gleadthorp*, *Welbeck*, and several more, which were all well manured and stockt. But all this stock was lost, besides his Race of Horses in his Grounds, Grange-Horses, Hackny-Horses, Mannage-Horses, Coach-Horses, and others he kept for his use.

To these Losses I may well and justly join the charges which my Lord hath been put to

since his return into *England*, by reason they were caused by the ruines of the said Warrs; whereof I reckon,

1. His Law-suits, which have been very chargeable to him, more than advantagious.

2. The Stocking, Manuring, Paling, Stubbing, Hedging, &c. of his Grounds and Parks; where it is to be noted, That no advantage or benefit can be made of Grounds, under the space of three years, and of Cattel not under five or six.

3. The repairing and furnishing of some of his Dwelling-Houses.

4. The setting up a Race or Breed of Horses, as he had before the Warrs; for which purpose he hath bought the best Mares he could get for money.

In short, I can reckon 12000 l. laid out barely for the repair of some Ruines, which my Lord could not be without, there being many of them to repair yet; neither is this all that is laid out, but much more which I cannot well remember; nor is there more but one Grange stock'd, amongst several that were kept for furnishing his House with Provisions: As for other Charges and Losses, which My Lord hath sustained since his return, I will not reckon them, because my design is onely to account such losses as were caused by the Wars.

By which, as they have been mentioned, it may easily be concluded, That although My Lord's Estate was very great before the Wars, yet now it is shrunk into a very narrow compass, that it puts his Prudence and Wisdom to the Proof, to make it serve

his necessities, he having no other assistance to bear him up; and yet notwithstanding all this, he hath since his return paid both for Himself and his Son, all manner of Taxes, Lones, Levies, Assessments, *&c.* equally with the rest of His Majesties Subjects, according to that Estate that is left him, which he has been forced to take upon Interest.

The Life of the Moſt Illuſtrious Prince, William Duke of Newcaſtle

THE THIRD BOOK

THUS having given you a faithful Account of all My Lords Actions, both before, in, and after the Civil Warrs, and of his Losses; I shall now conclude with some particular heads concerning the description of his own Person, his Natural Humour, Disposition, Qualities, Vertues; his Pedigree, Habit, Diet, Exercises, *&c.* together with some other Remarks and Particulars which I thought requisite to be inserted, both to illustrate the former Books, and to render the History of his Life more perfect and compleat.

1. *Of his Power.*

AFTER His Majesty King *Charles* the First, had entrusted my Lord with the Power of raising Forces for His Majesties Service, he effected that which never any Subject did, nor was (in all probability) able to do; for though many Great and Noble Persons did also raise Forces for His Majesty, yet they were Brigades, rather then well-formed Armies, in comparison to my Lord's. The reason was, That my Lord, by his Mother, the Daughter of *Cuthbert* Lord *Ogle*, being allyed to most of the most ancient Families in *Northumberland*, and other the Northern

parts, could pretend a greater Interest in them, then a stranger; for they through a natural affection to my Lord as their own Kinsman, would sooner follow him, and under his Conduct sacrifice their Lives for His Majesty's Service, then any body else, well knowing, That by deserting my Lord, they deserted themselves; and by this means my Lord raised first a Troup of Horse consisting of a hundred and twenty, and a Regiment of Foot; and then an Army of Eight thousand Horse, Foot and Dragoons, in those parts; and afterwards upon this ground, at several times, and in several places, so many several Troups, Regiments and Armies, that in all from the first to the last, they amounted to above 100000 men, and those most upon his own Interest, and without any other considerable help or assistance; which was much for a particular Subject, and in such a conjuncture of time; for since Armies are soonest raised by Covetousness, Fear and Faction; that is to say, upon a constant and settled Pay, upon the Ground of Terrour, and upon the Ground of Rebellion; but very seldom or never upon uncertainty of Pay; and when it is as hazardous to be of such a Party, as to be in the heat of a Battel; also when there is no other design but honest duty; it may easily be conceived that my Lord could have no little love and affection when He raised his Army upon such grounds as could promise them but little advantage at that time.

Amongst the rest of his Army, My Lord

had chosen for his own Regiment of Foot, 3000 of such Valiant, stout and faithful men, (whereof many were bred in the Moorish-grounds of the Northern parts) that they were ready to die at my Lord's feet, and never gave over, whensoever they were engaged in action, until they had either conquer'd the Enemy, or lost their lives. They were called White-coats, for this following reason: My Lord being resolved to give them new Liveries, and there being not red Cloth enough to be had, took up so much of white as would serve to cloath them, desiring withal, their patience until he had got it dyed; but they impatient of stay, requested my Lord, that he would be pleased to let them have it un-dyed as it was, promising they themselves would die it in the Enemies Blood: Which request my Lord granted them, and from that time they were called White-Coats.

To give you some instances of their Valour and Courage, I must beg leave to repeat some passages mentioned in the first Book. The Enemy having closely besieged the City of *York*, and made a passage into the Mannor-yard, by springing a Mine under the Wall thereof, was got into the Mannor-house with a great number of their Forces; which My Lord perceiving, he immediately went and drew 80 of the said White-coats thither, who with the greatest Courage went close up to the Enemy, and having charged them, fell Pell-mell with the But-ends of their Musquets upon them, and with the assistance of the rest that renewed their

Courage by their example, kill'd and took 1500, and by that means saved the Town.

How valiantly they behaved themselves in the last fatal Battel upon *Hessom-moor* near *York*, has been also declared heretofore; in so much, that although most of the Army were fled, yet they would not stir, until by the Enemies Power they were overcome, and most of them slain in rank and file.

Their love and affection to my Lord was such, that it lasted even when he was deprived of all his power, and could do them little good; to which purpose I shall mention this following passage:

My Lord being in *Antwerp*, received a Visit from a Gentleman, who came out of *England*, and rendred My Lord thanks for his safe Escape at Sea; My Lord being in amaze, not knowing what the Gentleman meant, he was pleased to acquaint Him, that in his coming over Sea out of *England*, he was set upon by Pickaroons, who having examined him, and the rest of his Company, at last some asked him, whether he knew the Marquess of *Newcastle?* To whom he answered, That he knew him very well, and was going over into the same City where my Lord lived. Whereupon they did not onely take nothing from him, but used him with all Civility, and desired him to remember their humble duty to their Lord General, for they were some of his White-Coats that had escaped death; and if my Lord had any service for them, they were ready to assist him upon what Designs

soever, and to obey him in whatsoever he should be pleased to Command them.

This I mention for the Eternal Fame and Memory of those Valiant and Faithful Men. But to return to the *Power* my Lord had in the late Warrs: As he was the Head of his own Army, and had raised it most upon his own Interest for the Service of His Majesty; so he was never Ordered by His Majesty's Privy Council, (except that some forces of His were kept by His late Majesty, (which he sent to Him) together with some Arms and Ammunition heretofore mentioned) until His Highness Prince *Rupert* came from His Majesty, to join with him at the Siege of *York*. He had moreover the Power of Coyning, Printing, Knighting, *&c.* which never any Subject had before, when His Soveraign Himself was in the Kingdom; as also the Command of so many Counties, as is mentioned in the First Book, and the Power of placing and displacing what Governours and Commanders he pleased, and of constituting what Garisons he thought fit; of the chief whereof I shall give you this following list.

A Particular of the Principal Garisons, and the Governors of them, constituted by my Lord.

In Northumberland.

NEWCASTLE upon *Tyne*, Sir *John Marley*, Knight.

Tynmouth Castle and *Sheilds*, Sir *Thomas Riddal*, Knight.

In the Bishoprick of Durham.

Hartlepool, Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lambton.*

Raby-Castle, Sir *William Savile*, Knight and Baronet.

In Yorkshire.

The City of *York*, Sir *Thomas Glenham* Knight and Baronet; and afterwards when he took the Field, the Lord *Jo. Bellasyse.*

Pomfret-Castle, Colonel *Mynn*, and after him Sir *Jo. Redman.*

Sheffield-Castle, Major *Beamont.*

Wortly-Hall, Sir *Francis Wortley.*

Tickhill-Castle, Major *Mountney.*

Doncaster, Sir *Francis Fane*, Knight of the Bath, afterwards Governour of *Lincoln.*

Sandal-Castle, Captain *Bonivant.*

Skipton-Castle, Sir *John Mallary*, Baronet.

Bolton-Castle, Mr. *Scroope.*

Hemsley-Castle, Sir *Jordan Crosland.*

Scarborough-Castle and Town, Sir *Hugh Chomley.*

Stamford-Bridg, Colonel *Galbreth.*

Hallifax, Sir *Francis Mackworth.*

Tadcaster, Sir *Gamaliel Dudley.*

Eyrmouth, Major *Kaughton.*

In Cumberland.

The City of *Carlisle*, Sir *Philip Musgrave*, Knight and Baronet.

Cockermouth, Colonel *Kirby.*

In Nottinghamshire.

Newark upon *Trent*, Sir *John Henderson*, Knight; and afterwards, Sir *Richard Byron*, Knight, now Lord *Byron.*

Wyrton-House, Colonel *Rowland Hacker*.
Welbeck, Colonel *Van Peire*; and after, Colonel *Beeton*.
Shelford-House, Col. *Philip Stanhop*.

In Lincolnshire.

The City of *Lincoln*, first Sir *Francis Fane*, Knight of the Bath; secondly, Sir *Peregrine Bartu*.
Gainsborough, Colonel St. *George*.
Bullingbrook - Castle, Lieutenant Colonel *Chester*.
Beluoir-Castle, Sir *Gervas Lucas*.

In Derbyshire.

Bolsover-Castle, Colonel *Muschamp*.
Wingfield Mannor, Colonel *Roger Molyneux*.
Staly-House, the now Lord *Fretchwile*.

A LIST *of the General OFFICERS of the ARMY.*

1. The Lord General, the now Duke of *Newcastle*, the Noble Subject of this Book.
2. The Lieutenant General of the Army; first the Earl of *Newport*, afterwards the Lord *Eythin*.
3. The General of the Ordnance, *Charles* Viscount *Mansfield*.
4. The General of the Horse, *George* Lord *Goring*.
5. The Colonel General of the Army, Sir *Thomas Glenham*.
6. The Major General of the Army, Sir *Francis Mackworth*.

7. The Lieutenant General of the Horse, First Mr. *Charles Cavendish*, after him Sir *Charles Lucas*.
8. Commissary General of Horse, First Colonel *Windham*, after him Sir *William Throckmorton*, and after him Mr. *George Porter*.
9. Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, Sir *William Davenant*.
10. Treasurer of the Army, Sir *William Carnaby*.
11. Advocate-General of the Army, Dr. *Liddal*.
12. Quarter-Master General of the Army, Mr. *Ralph Errington*.
13. Providore-General of the Army, Mr. *Gervas Nevil*, and after Mr. *Smith*.
14. Scout-Master-General of the Army, Mr. *Hudson*.
15. Waggon-Master-General of the Army, *Baptist Johnson*.

William Lord *Widdrington* was President of the Council of War, and Commander in chief of the three Counties of *Lincoln*, *Rutland* and *Nottingham*, and the forces there.

When my Lord marched with his Army to *Newcastle* against the *Scots*, then the Lord *John Bellassis* was constitued Governour of *York*, and Commander in Chief, or Lieutenant General of *York-shire*.

As for the rest of the Officers and Commanders of every particular Regiment and Company, they being too numerous, cannot well be remembred, and therefore I shall give you no particular accompt of them.

2. *Of His Misfortunes and obstructions.*

ALTHOUGH Nature had favour'd My Lord, and endued him with the best Qualities and Perfections she could inspire into his soul; yet Fortune hath ever been such an inveterate Enemy to him, that she invented all the spight and malice against him that lay in her power; and notwithstanding his prudent Counsels and Designs, cast such obstructions in his way, that he seldom proved successful, but where he acted in Person. And since I am not ignorant that this unjust and partial Age is apt to suppress the worth of meritorious persons, and that many will endeavour to obscure my Lords noble Actions and Fame, by casting unjust aspersions upon him, and laying (either out of ignorance or malice) Fortunes envy to his charge, I have purposed to represent these obstructions which conspired to render his good intentions and endeavours ineffectual, and at last did work his ruine and destruction, in these following particulars.

1. At the time when the Kingdom became so infatuated, as to oppose and pull down their Gracious King and Soveraign, the Treasury was exhausted, and no sufficient means to raise and maintain Armies to reduce His Majesties Rebellious Subjects; so that My Lord had little to begin withal but what his own Estate would allow, and his Interest procure him.

2. When his late Majesty, in the beginning of the unhappy Wars, sent My Lord to *Hull*, the strongest place in the Kingdom, where

the Magazine of Arms and Ammunition was kept, and he by his prudence had gained it to his Majesties service; My Lord was left to the mercy of the Parliament, where he had surely suffered for it, (though he acted not without His Majesties Commission) if some of the contrary party had not quitted him, in hopes to gain him on their side.

3. After His Majesty had sent My Lord to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, to take upon him the Government of that place, and he had raised there, of Friends and Tenants, a troup of Horse and Regiment of Foot, which he ordered to conveigh some Arms and Ammunition to His Majesty, sent by the Queen out of *Holland*; His Majesty was pleased to keep the same Convoy with him to encrease his own Forces, which although it was but of a small number, yet at that present time it would have been very serviceable to my Lord, he having then but begun to raise Forces.

4. When Her Majesty the now Queen-Mother, after her arrival out of *Holland* to *York*, had a purpose to conveigh some Armes to His Majesty, My Lord order'd a Party of 1500 to conduct the same, which His Majesty was pleased to keep with him for his own service.

5. After Her Majesty had taken a resolution to go from *York* to *Oxford*, where the King then was; my Lord for Her safer conduct quitted 7000 men of his Army, with a convenient Train of Artillery, which likewise never returned to my Lord.

6. When the Earl of *Montross* was going into *Scotland*, he went to my Lord at *Durham*,

and desired of him a supply of some Forces for His Majestics service; where my Lord gave him 200 Horse and Dragoons, even at such a time when he stood most in need of a supply himself, and thought every day to encounter the *Scottish* Army.

7. When my Lord out of the Northern parts went into *Lincoln-* and *Derby-shires* with his Army, to order and reduce them to their Allegiance and Duty to His Majesty, and from thence resolved to march into the Associate Counties, (where in all probability he would have made an happy end of the Warr) he was so importuned by those he left behind him, and particularly the Commander in Chief, to return into *York-shire*, alledging the Enemy grew strong, and would ruine them all, if he came not speedily to succour and assist them; that in honour and duty he could do no otherwise but grant their Requests; when as yet being returned into those parts, he found them secure and safe enough from the Enemies Attempts.

8. My Lord (as heretofore mentioned) had as great private Enemies about His Majesty, as he had publick Enemies in the Field, who used all the endeavour they could to pull him down.

9. There was such Jugling, Treachery, and Falshood in his own Army, and amongst some of his own Officers, that it was impossible for my Lord to be prosperous and successful in his Designs and Undertakings.

10. My Lord's Army being the chief and greatest Army which His Majesty had, and in which consisted His prime Strength and

Power; the Parliament resolved at last, to join all their Forces with the Army of the *Scots*, (which when it came out of *Scotland*, was above Twenty thousand Men) to oppose, and if possible, to ruine it; well knowing, that if they did pull down my Lord, they should be Masters of all the three Kingdoms; so that there were Three Armies against One. But although my Lord suffered much by the Negligence (and sometimes Treachery) of his Officers, and was unfortunately called back into *York-shire*, from his March he designed for the Associate Counties, and was forced to part with a great number of his Forces and Ammunition, as aforementioned; yet he would hardly have been overcome, and his Army ruined by the Enemy, had he but had some timely supply and assistance at the Siege of *York*, or that his Counsel had been taken in not fighting the Enemy then, or that the Battel had been differ'd some two or three dayes longer, until those Forces were arrived which he expected, namely three thousand men out of *Northumberland*, and Two thousand drawn out of several Garisons. But the chief Misfortune was, That the Enemy fell upon the Kings Forces before they were all put into a *Battallia*, and took them at their great disadvantage; which caused such a Panick fear amongst them, that most of the Horse of the right Wing of His Majesty's Forces, betook themselves to their heels; insomuch, that although the left Wing (commanded by the Lord *Goring*, and my Brother Sir *Charles Lucas*)

did their best endeavour, and beat back the Enemy three times, and My Lord's own Regiment of Foot charged them so couragiously, that they never broke, but died most of them in their Ranks and Files; yet the Power of the Enemy being too strong, put them at last to a total rout and confusion. Which unlucky disaster put an end to all future hopes of His Majesties Party; so that my Lord seeing he had nothing left in his Power to do His Majesty any further service in that kind (for had he stayed, he would have been forced to surrender all those Towns and Garisons in those parts, that were yet in His Majesties Devotion, as afterwards it also happen'd) resolved to quit the Kingdom, as formerly is mentioned.

And these are chiefly the obstructions to the good success of my Lord's Designs in the late Civil Wars; which being rightly considered, will save him blameless from what otherwise would be laid to his charge; for, as according to the old saying, *'Tis easie for men to swim, when they are held up by the chin:* So on the other side, it is very dangerous and difficult for them to endeavour it, when they are pulled down by the Heels, and beaten upon their Heads.

3. *Of His Loyalty and Sufferings.*

I DARE boldly and justly say, That there never was, nor is a more Loyal and Faithful Subject then My Lord: Not to mention the Trust he discharged in all those imployments, which either King *James*, or King

Charles the First, or His now Gracious Master King *Charles* the Second, were pleased to bestow upon him, which he performed with such care and fidelity, that he never disobeyed their Commands in the least; I will onely note,

1. That he was the First that appear'd in Armes for His Majesty, and engaged Himself and all his Friends he could for His Majesties Service; and though he had but two Sons which were young, and one onely Brother, yet they all were with him in the Wars: His two Sons had Commands, but His Brother, though he had no Command, by reason of the weakness of his body, yet he was never from My Lord when he was in action, even to the last; for he was the last with my Lord in the Field in that fatal Battel upon *Hessom-moor*, near *York*; and though my Brother, Sir *Charles Lucas*, desired my Lord to send his Sons away, when the said Battel was fought, yet he would not, saying, His sons should shew their Loyalty and Duty to His Majesty, in venturing their lives, as well as Himself.

2. My Lord was the chief and onely Person, that kept up the Power of His late Majesty; for when his Army was lost, all the Kings Party was ruined in all three of his Majesties Kingdoms; because in his Army lay the chief strength of all the Royal Forces; it being the greatest and best formed Army which His Majesty had, and the onely support both of his Majesties Person and Power, and of the hopes of all his Loyal Subjects in all his Dominions.

3. My Lord was 16 Years in Banishment, and hath lost and suffered most of any subject, that suffer'd either by War, or otherways, except those that lost their lives, and even that he valued not, but exposed it to so eminent dangers that nothing but Heavens Decree had ordained to save it.

4. He never minded his own interest more then his Loyaltie and Duty, and upon that account never desired nor received any thing from the Crown to enrich himself, but spent great sums in His Majesties Service; so that after his long banishment and return into *England*, I observed his ruined Estate was like an Earthquake, and his Debts like Thunderbolts, by which he was in danger of being utterly undone, had not Patience and Prudence, together with Heavens Blessings, saved him from that threatening Ruine.

5. He never repined at his Losses and Sufferings, because he lost and suffered for his King and Countrey; nay, so far was he from that, that I have heard him say, If the same Warrs should happen again, and he was sure to lose both his life, and all he had left him, yet he would most willingly sacrifice it for His Majesties Service.

6. He never connived or conspired with the Enemy, neither directly nor indirectly; for though some Person of Quality being sent in the late Wars to him into the North, from His late Majesty, who was then at *Oxford*, with some Message, did withal in private acquaint him, that some of the

Nobility that were with the King, desired him to side with them against His Majesty, alledging that if His Majesty should become an absolute Conqueror, both himself and the rest of the Nobility would lose all their Rights and Priviledges; yet he was so far from consenting to it, that he returned him this answer, namely, That he entred into actions of War, for no other end, but for the service of His King and Master, and to keep up His Majesties Rights and Prerogatives, for which he was resolved to venture both his Life, Posterity and Estate; for certainly, said he, the Nobility cannot fall if the King be Victorious, nor can they keep up their Dignities, if the King be overcome.

This Message was delivered by word of mouth, but none of their names mentioned; so that it is not certainly known whether it was a real truth or not; more probable it was, that they intended to sound my Lord, or to make, if possible, more division; for certainly not all that pretended to be for the King, were His Friends; and I my self remember very well, when I was with Her Majesty, the now Queen-Mother, in *Oxford*, (although I was too young to perceive their intrigues, yet I was old enough to observe) that there were great Factions both amongst the Courtiers and Soldiers. But my Lords Loyalty was such, that he kept always faithful and true to His Majesty, and could by no means be brought to side with the Rebellious Party, or to juggle and mind his own Interest more then his Majesties

Service; and this was the cause that he had as great private Enemies at Court, as he had publick Enemies in the Field, who sought as much his ruine and destruction privately, and would cast aspersions upon his Loyalty and Duty, as these did publickly oppose him.

In short, that it may appear the better what loyal and faithful services my Lord has done both for His late Majesty King *Charles* the First, and His now Gracious Master King *Charles* the Second, I have thought fit to subjoin both Their Majesties Commendations which they were pleased to give him, when for his Great and Loyal Services they confer'd upon him the Titles and Dignities of *Marquess*, and *Duke of Newcastle*.

A Copy of the Preamble of My Lord's Patent for *Marquess*, Englished.

Rex *&c.* Salutem.

WHEREAS it appears to Us, That William *Earl of* Newcastle *upon* Tyne, *besides his most Eminent Birth and splendid Alliances, hath equalled all those Titles with which he is adorned by Desert, and hath also wonne them by Virtue, Industry, Prudence, and a stedfast Faith: Whilest with dangers and expences gathering together Soldiers, Armes, and all other War-like Habiliments; and applying them as well in Our Affairs, as most plentifully sending them to Us, (having forethought of Our Dignity and security) he was ready with Us in all Actions in* York-shire,

and governed the Town of Newcastle, *and Castle in the mouth of* Tyne, *at the time of that fatal Revolt of the People who were got together; and with a Bond of his Friends did opportunely seize that Port, and settled it a Garison; bringing Armes to Us (then Our onely relief:) In which Service so strongly going on, (which was of grand moment to our affairs) We do gratefully remember him still to have stood to: Afterwards, having Mustered together a good Army, (Our self being gone else-where) the Rebels now enjoying almost all* York-shire, *and the chiefest Fortress of all the Country now appearing to have scarce refuge or safety for him against the swelling Rebels, (the whole Country then desiring and praying for his coming, that he might timely relieve them in their desperate condition). And leading his said Army in the midst of Winter, gave the Rebels Battel in his passage, vanquish'd them, and put them to flight, and took from them several Garisons, and places of Refuge, and restored Health to the Subjects, and by his many Victories, Peace and Security to the Countryes: Witness those places, made Noble by the death and flight of the Rebels: in Lincoln-shire,* Gainsborough *and* Lincoln; *in Derby-shire,* Chesterfield; *but in York-shire,* Peirce-bridge, Seacroft, Tankerly, Tadcaster, Sheffield, Rotheram, Yarum, Beverly, Cawood, Selby, Halifax, Leeds, *and above all,* Bradford; *where when the* Yorkshire- *and* Lancashire- *Rebels were united, and Battel joined with them; when Our Army as well by the great numbers of the Rebels, as much more the badness of Our ground, was so prest upon,*

that the Soldiers now seemed to think of flying; He, their General, with a full Carier, commanding two Troops to follow him, broke into the very rage of the Battel, and with so much violence fell upon the right Wing of those Rebels, That those who were but now certain of Victory, turn'd their backs, and fled from the Conqueror, who by his Wisdom, Virtue and his own Hand, brought death and flight to the Rebels, Victory and Glory to Himself, Plunder to the Soldiery, and 22 great Guns, and many Ensigns to Us. Nor was there before this, wanting to so much Virtue, equal Felicity, for Our most beloved Consort, after a dismal Tempest coming from Holland, *being drove ashore at* Burlington, *and undergoing a more grievous danger, by the excursions of the Rebels, then the tossing and tumbling of the Sea; He having heard of it, speedily goes to Her with his Army, and dutifully receiveth Her, in safety brings her, and with all security conducts her to Us at* Oxford. *Whereas therefore the aforesaid Earl hath raised so many Monuments of His Virtue and Fidelity* towards *Us, Our Queen, Children, and Our Kingdom; when also he doth at this time establish with safety, and with His Power defend the Northern parts of Our Kingdom against the Rebels; when lastly, nothing more concerns Mankind and Princes, and nothing can be more just, then that he may receive for his Deeds, a Reward suitable to his name, which requires that he who defends the Borders, should be created by Us,* Governour or Marquess of the Borderers. *Know therefore, &c.*

A Copy of the Preamble of My Lord's Patent for *DUKE*, Englished.

Rex *&c.* Salutem.

WHEREAS Our most beloved and faithful Cousin and Counsellor, William *Earl and Marquess of* Newcastle *upon* Tyne, &c. *worthy by his famous Name, Blood and Office, of large Honours, has been eminent in so many, and so great Services performed to Us and Our Father (of ever blessed memory) that his Merits are still producing new effects, We have decreed likewise to add more Honour to his former. And though these his such eminent Actions, which he hath faithfully and valiantly performed to Us, Our Father, and Our Kingdom, speak loud enough in themselves; yet since the valiant Services of a good Subject are always pleasant to remember, We have thought fit to have them in part related for a good Example and Encouragement to Virtue.*

The great proofs of his Wisdom and Piety are sufficiently known to Us from Our younger years, and We shall alwayes retain a sense of those good Principles he instilled into Us; the care of Our Youth which he happily undertook for Our good, he as faithfully and well discharged. Our years growing up amidst bad Times, and the harsh Necessities of Warr, a new Charge and Care of Loyaltie, the Kingdom and Religion call'd him off to make use of his further Diligence and Valour. Rebellion spread abroad, he levied Loyal Forces in great numbers, opposed the Enemy, won so many and so great Victories in the Field, took in so

many Towns, Castles, and Garisons, as well in Our Northern parts, as elsewhere; and behaved himself with so great Courage and Valour in the defending also what he had got, especially at the Siege of York, *which he maintain'd against three Potent Armies of* Scots *and* English, *closely beleaguering, and with emulation assaulting it for three Months (till Relief was brought) to the wonder and envy of the Enemy; that, if Loyal and Humane Force could have prevailed, he had soon restored Fidelity, Peace and his KING to the Nation, which was then hurrying to Ruine by an unhappy Fate; So that Rebellion getting the upper hand, and no place being left for him to act further valiantly in, for his King and Countrey, he still retain'd the same Loyalty and Valour in suffering, being an inseparable Follower of Our Exile; during which sad Catastrophe, his whole Estate was sequestred and sold from him, and his Person alwayes one of the first of those few who were excepted both for Life and Estate (which was offer'd to all others). Besides, his Virtues are accompanied with a Noble Blood, being of a Family by each Stock equally adorn'd and endow'd with great Honours and Riches. For which Reasons We have resolv'd to grace the said Marquess with a new Mark of our Favour, he being every way deserving of it, as one who lov'd vertue equal to his Noble Birth, and possess'd Patrimonies suitable to both, as long as loyalty had any place to shew it self in our Realm; which possessions he so well employ'd, and at last for Us and Our Fathers service lost, till he was with Us restor'd. Know therefore,* &c.

4. *Of his Prudence and Wisdom.*

My Lord's Prudence and Wisdom hath been sufficiently apparent both in his Publick and Private Actions and Imployments; for he hath such a Natural Inspection, and Judicious Observation of things, that he sees beforehand what will come to pass, and orders his affairs accordingly. To which purpose I cannot but mention, that *Laud*, the then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, between whom and my Lord, interceded a great and intire Friendship, which he confirmed by a Legacy of a Diamond, to the value of 200 l. left to my Lord when he died, which was much for him to bequeath; for though he was a great Statesman, and in favour with his late Majesty, yet he was not covetous to hoard up wealth, but bestowed it rather upon the Publick, repairing the Cathedral of St. *Pauls* in *London*, which, had God granted him life, he would certainly have beautified, and rendred as famous and glorious as any in Christendom: This said Arch-Bishop was pleased to tell His late Majesty, that my Lord was one of the Wisest and Prudentest Persons that ever he was acquainted with.

For further proof, I cannot pass by that my Lord told His late Majesty King *Charles* the First, and Her Majesty the now Queen-Mother, some time before the Wars, That he observed by the humours of the People, the approaching of a Civil War, and that His Majesties Person would be in danger of being deposed, if timely care was not taken to prevent it.

Also when my Lord was at *Antwerp*, the Marquess of *Montross*, before he went into *Scotland*, gave my Lord a Visit, and acquainted him with his intended Journey, asking my Lord whether he was not also going for *England?* My Lord answer'd, He was ready to do His Majesty what service he could, and would shun no opportunity, where he perceived he could effect something to His Majesties advantage; Nay, said he, if His Majesty should be pleased to Command my single Person to go against the whole Army of the Enemy, although I was sure to lose my life, yet out of a Loyal Duty to His Majesty, and in Obedience to his Commands, I should never refuse it. But to venture (said he) the life of my Friends, and to betray them in a desperate action, without any probability of doing the least good to His Majesty, would be a very unjust and unconscionable act; for my Friends might perhaps venture with me upon an implicite Faith, that I was so honest as not to engage them without a firm and solid foundation; but I wanting that, as having no Ships, Armes, Ammunition, Provision, Forts, and places of Rendezvous, and what is the chief thing, Money; To what purpose would it be to draw them into so hazardous an Action, but to seek their ruine and destruction, without the least benefit to His Majesty? Then the Marquess of *Montross* asked my Lord's Advice, and what he should do in such a case? My Lord answer'd, That he knowing best his own Countrey, Power and Strength, and what probability

he had of Forces, and other Necessaries for Warr, when he came into *Scotland*, could give himself the best advice; but withall told him, That if he had no Provision nor Ammunition, Armes and places of Rendezvous for his men to meet and join, he would likely be forced to hide his head, and suffer for his rash undertaking: Which unlucky Fate did also accordingly befall that worthy Person.

These passages I mention to no other end, but to declare my Lord's Judgment and Prudence in worldly Affairs; whereof there are so many, that if I should set them all down, it would swell this History to a big Volume. They may in some sort be gather'd from his actions mentioned heretofore, especially the ordering of his affairs in the time of Warr, with such Conduct, Prudence and Wisdom, that notwithstanding at the beginning of his Undertaking that great Trust and honourable Employment which His late Majesty was pleased to confer upon him, he saw so little appearance of performing his Designs with good success, His Majesty's Revenues being then much weakened, and the Magazines and publick Purse, in the Enemies Power, besides several other obstructions and hindrances; yet as he undertook it chearfully, and out of pure Loyalty and Obedience to His Majesty; so he ordered it so wisely, that so long as he acted by his own Counsels, and was personally present at the execution of his Designs, he was always prosperous in his Success. And although he had so great an Army, as afore-

mentioned, yet by his wise and prudent Conduct, there appear'd no visible sign of devastation in any of the Countreys where he marched; for first, he settled a constant Rule for the Regular levy of money for the convenient Maintenance of the Soldiery. Next, he constituted such Officers of his Army, that most of them were known to be Gentlemen of large and fair Estates, which drew a good part of their private Revenues, to serve and support them in their publick Employments; wherein my Lord did lead them the way by his own good Example.

To which may be added his wisdom in ordering the Government of the Church, for the advancement of the Orthodox Religion, and suppression of Factions; as also in Coyning, Printing, Knighting, and the like, which he used with great discretion and prudence, onely for the Interest of His Majesty, and the benefit of the Kingdom, as formerly has been mentioned.

The Prudent mannage of his private and domestick affairs, appears sufficiently: 1. In his Marriage. 2. In the ordering and increasing his Estate before the Wars, which notwithstanding his Noble Housekeeping and Hospitality, and his Generous Bounty and Charity, he increased to the value of 100000 l. 3. In the ordering his Affairs in the time of Banishment, where although he received not the least of his own estate, during all the time of his exile, until his return; yet maintained himself handsomely and nobly, according to his Quality, as much as his Condition at that time would permit. 4. In

reducing his torn and ruined Estate after his return, which beyond all probability, himself hath setled and order'd so, that his Posterity will have reason gratefully to remember it.

In short; Although my Lord naturally loves not business, especially those of State, (though he understands them as well as any body) yet what business or affairs he cannot avoid, none will do them better then himself. His private affairs he orders without any noise or trouble, not over-hastily, but wisely: Neither is he passionate in acting of business, but hears patiently, and orders soberly, and pierces into the heart or bottom of a business at the first encounter; but before all things, he considers well before he undertakes a business, whether he be able to go through it or no, for he never ventures upon either publick or private business, beyond his strength.

And here I cannot forbear to mention, that my Noble Lord, when he was in banishment, presumed out of his Duty and Love to his Gracious Master our now Soveraign King *Charles* the Second, to write and send him a little Book, or rather a Letter, wherein he delivered his Opinion concerning the Government of his Dominions, whensoever God should be pleased to restore him to his Throne, together with some other Notes and Observations of Foreign States and Kingdoms; but it being a private offer to His sacred Majesty, I dare not presume to publish it.

5. *Of his Blessings.*

ALTHOUGH my Lord hath been one of the most Unfortunate Persons of his Rank and Quality, which this later age did produce; yet Heaven hath been so propitious to him, that it bestowed some blessings upon him even in the midst of his Misfortunes, and supported him against Fortunes Malice, which otherwise, as it seems, had designed his total ruine and destruction: Of these Blessings I may name in the first place,

1. The Royal Favours of His Gracious Soveraign's, and the good esteem they had of his Fidelity and Loyalty; which as it was the chief of his endeavours, so he esteemed it above all the rest. To repeat them particularly would be too tedious, and they are sufficiently apparent out of the precedent History; onely this I may add, that King *Charles* the First, out of a singular Favour to my Lord, was pleased upon his most humble request, to create several Noble-men; the Names of them, lest I commit an offence, I shall not mention, by reason most men usually pretend such claimes upon the Ground of their own Merit.

2. That God was pleased to bless him with Wealth and Power, to enable him the better for the service of his King and Country.

3. That he made him happy in his Marriage; (for his first Wife was a very kind, loving and Virtuous Lady) and bless'd him with Dutiful and Obedient Children, free from Vices, Noble and Generous both in

ther Natures and Actions; who did all that lay in their power to support and relieve my Lord their Father in his Banishment, as before is mentioned.

4. The Kindness and Civility which my Lord received from Strangers, and the Inhabitants of those places, where he lived during the time of his Banishment; for had it not been for them, he would have perished in his extream wants; but it pleased God so to provide for him, that although he wanted an Estate, yet he wanted not Credit; and although he was banished and forsaken by his own Friends and Countrymen, yet he was civilly received and relieved by strangers, until God bless'd him.

Lastly, With a happy return to his Native Country, his dear Children, and his own Estate; which although he found much ruined and broke, yet by his Prudence and Wisdom, hath order'd as well as he could; and I hope, and pray God to add this blessing to all the rest, That he may live long to encrease it for the benefit of his Posterity.

6. *Of his Honours and Dignities.*

The Honours, Titles and Dignities which were conferr'd upon my Lord, by King *James*, King *Charles* the First, and King *Charles* the Second, partly as an encouragement for future Service, and a reward for past, are following.

1. He was made Knight of the *Bath*, when he was but 15 or 16 years of Age, at the Creation of *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, King *James's* Eldest Son.

2. King *James* Created him Viscount *Mansfield*, and Baron of *Bolsover*.

3. King *Charles* the First constituted him Lord Lieutenant of *Nottinghamshire*, and

4. Lord Warden of the Forrest of *Sherwood*; as also,

5. Lord Lieutenant of *Derby-shire*.

6. He chose him Governour to His Son *Charles*, our now gracious King; and

7. Made him one of his Honourable Privy Council.

8. He constituted him Governour of the Town and County of *Newcastle*, and General of all His Majesties Forces raised, and to be raised in the Northern parts of *England*; as also of the several Counties of *Nottingham*, *Lincoln*, *Rutland*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Leicester*, *Warwick*, *Northampton*, *Huntington*, *Cambridg*, *Norfolk*, *Sussex*, *Essex* and *Hereford*, together with all the Appurtenances belonging to so great a Power, as is formerly declared.

9. He conferr'd upon him the Honour and Title of Earl of *Newcastle*, and Baron of *Bothal* and *Hepple*.

10. He created him Marquess of *Newcastle*.

11. His Majesty King *CHARLES* the Second, was pleased, when my Lord was in banishment, to make him Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter; And

12. After his Return into *England*, Chief Justice in *Eyre Trent-North*.

13. He created him Duke of *Newcastle*, and Earl of *Ogle*.

7. *Of the Entertainments He made for King* CHARLES *the First.*

THOUGH my Lord hath alwayes been free and noble in his Entertainments and Feastings, yet he was pleased to shew his great Affection and Duty to his Gracious King, *Charles* the First, and Her Majesty the Queen, in some particular Entertainments which he made of purpose for them before the late Warrs.

When his Majesty was going into *Scotland* to be Crowned, he took His way through *Nottinghamshire;* and lying at *Worksop*-Mannor, hardly two miles distant from *Welbeck*, where my Lord then was, my Lord invited His Majesty thither to a Dinner, which he was graciously pleased to accept of: This Entertainment cost my Lord between Four and Five thousand pounds; which His Majesty liked so well, that a year after His Return out of *Scotland*, He was pleased to send my Lord word, That Her Majesty the Queen was resolved to make a Progress into the Northern parts, desiring him to prepare the like Entertainment for Her, as he had formerly done for Him: Which My Lord did, and endeavour'd for it with all possible Care and Industry, sparing nothing that might add splendor to that Feast, which both Their Majesties were pleased to honour with their Presence: *Ben Johnson* he employed in fitting such Scenes and Speeches as he could best devise; and sent for all the Gentry of the Country to come and wait on their Majesties; and in short, did all that

ever he could imagine, to render it Great, and worthy Their Royal Acceptance.

This Entertainment he made at *Bolsover*-Castle in *Derbyshire*, some five miles distant from *Welbeck*, and resigned *Welbeck* for Their Majesties Lodging; it cost him in all between Fourteen and Fifteen thousand pounds.

Besides these two, there was another small Entertainment which my Lord prepared for His late Majesty, in his own Park at *Welbeck*, when His Majesty came down, with his two Nephews, the now Prince Elector Palatine, and His Brother Prince *Rupert*, into the Forrest of *Sherwood*; which cost him Fifteen hundred pounds.

And this I mention not out of a vain-glory, but to declare the great love and Duty, my Lord had for His Gracious King and Queen, and to correct the mistakes committed by some Historians, who not being rightly informed of those Entertainments, make the World believe Falshood for Truth. But as I said, they were made before the Warrs, when my Lord had the possession of a great Estate; and wanted nothing to express his Love and Duty to his Soveraign in that manner; whereas now he should be much to seek to do the like, his Estate being so much ruined by the late Civil Wars, that neither himself nor his Posterity will be able so soon to recover it.

8. *His Education.*

His Education was according to his Birth; for as he was born a Gentleman, so he was

bred like a Gentleman. To School-Learning he never shew'd a great inclination; for though he was sent to the University, and was a Student of St. *John's* Colledg in *Cambridg*, and had his Tutors to instruct him; yet they could not perswade him to read or study much, he taking more delight in sports, then in learning; so that his Father being a wise man, and seeing that his Son had a good natural Wit, and was of a very good Disposition, suffer'd him to follow his own Genius; whereas his other Son *Charles*, in whom he found a greater love and inclination to Learning, he encouraged as much that way, as possibly he could.

One time it hapned that a young Gentleman, one of my Lord's Relations, had bought some Land, at the same time when my Lord had bought a Singing-Boy for 50 l. a Horse for 50 l. and a Dog for 2 l. which humour his Father Sir *Charles* liked so well, that he was pleased to say, That if he should find his Son to be so covetous, that he would buy Land before he was 20 years of Age, he would disinherit him. But above all the rest, my Lord had a great inclination to the Art of Horsemanship and Weapons, in which later, his Father Sir *Charles*, being a most ingenuous and unparallell'd Master of that Age, was his onely Tutor, and kept him also several Masters in the Art of Horsemanship, and sent him to the *Mewse* to *Mons. Antoine*, who was then accounted the best Master in that Art. But my Lord's delight in those Heroick Exercises was such, that he soon became Master thereof Himself, which en-

creased much his Father's hopes of his future perfections, who being himself a person of a Noble and Heroick nature, was extreamly well pleased to observe his Son take delight in such Arts and Exercises as were proper and fit for a person of Quality.

9. *His Natural Wit and Understanding.*

ALTHOUGH my Lord has not so much of Scholarship and Learning as his Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish* had, yet he hath an excellent Natural Wit and Judgment, and dives into the bottom of every thing; as it is evidently apparent in the fore-mentioned Art of Horsemanship and Weapons, which by his own ingenuity he has reformed and brought to such perfection, as never any one has done heretofore: And though he is no Mathematician by Art, yet he hath a very good Mathematical brain, to demonstrate Truth by natural reason, and is both a good Natural and Moral Philosopher, not by reading Philosophical Books, but by his own Natural Understanding and Observation, by which he hath found out many Truths.

To pass by several other instances, I'le but mention, that when my Lord was at *Paris*, in his Exile, it happen'd one time, that he discoursing with some of his Friends, amongst whom was also that Learned Philosopher *Hobbes*, they began amongst the rest, to argue upon this subject, namely, *Whether it were possible to make Man by Art fly as Birds do;* and when some of the Company had delivered their Opinion, *viz.* That they thought it probable to be done by the help of Artificial

Wings: My Lord declared, that he deemed it altogether impossible, and demonstrated it by this following Reason: Man's Armes, said he, are not set on his shoulders in the same manner as Bird's wings are; for that part of the Arm which joins to the Shoulder, is in Man placed inward, as towards the breast, but in Birds outward, as toward the back; which difference and contrary position or shape, hinders that man cannot have the same flying-action with his Armes, as Birds have with their Wings; Which Argument Mr. *Hobbes* liked so well, that he was pleased to make use of it in one of his Books called *Leviathan*, if I remember well.

Some other time they falling into a Discourse concerning Witches, Mr. *Hobbes* said, That though he could not rationally believe there were Witches, yet he could not be fully satisfied to believe there were none, by reason they would themselves confess it, if strictly examined.

To which my Lord answer'd, That though for his part he cared not whether there were Witches or no; yet his Opinion was, That the Confession of Witches, and their suffering for it, proceeded from an Erroneous Belief, *viz.* That they had made a Contract with the Devil to serve him for such Rewards as were in his Power to give them; and that it was their Religion to worship and adore him; in which Religion they had such a firm and constant belief, that if any thing came to pass according to their desire, they believed the Devil had heard their prayers, and granted their requests, for which they gave him

thanks; but if things fell out contrary to their prayers and desires, then they were troubled at it, fearing they had offended him, or not served him as they ought, and asked him forgiveness for their offences. Also (said my Lord) they imagine that their Dreams are real exterior actions; for example, if they dream they flye in the Air, or out of the Chimney top, or that they are turned into several shapes, they believe no otherwise, but that it is really so: And this wicked Opinion makes them industrious to perform such Ceremonies to the Devil, that they adore and worship him as their God, and chuse to live and dye for him.

Thus my Lord declared himself concerning Witches, which Mr. *Hobbes* was also pleased to insert in his fore-mentioned Book: But yet my Lord doth not count this Opinion of his so universal, as if there were none but imaginary Witches; for he doth not speak but of such a sort of Witches as make it their Religion to worship the Devil in the manner aforesaid. Nor doth he think it a Crime to entertain what Opinion seems most probable to him, in things indifferent; for in such cases men may discourse and argue as they please, to exercise their Wit, and may change and alter their Opinions upon more probable Grounds and Reasons; whereas in Fundamental matters both of Church and State, he is so strict an Adherent to them, that he will never maintain or defend such Opinions which are in the least prejudicial to either.

One proof more I'le add to confirm his Natural Understanding and Judgment, which

was upon some Discourse I held with him one time, concerning that famous Chymist *Van Helmont*, who in his Writings is very invective against the School-men, and amongst the rest, accuses them for taking the Radical moisture for the fat of Animal Bodies. Whereupon my Lord answer'd, That surely the School-men were too wise to commit such an Error; for, said he, the Radical moisture is not the fat or tallow of an Animal, but an Oily and Balsamous Substance; for the fat and tallow, as also the watery parts, are cold; whereas the Oily and Balsamous parts, have at all times a lively heat; which makes that those Creatures which have much of that Oyle or Balsom, are long-liv'd, and appear young; and not onely Animals, but also Vegetables, which have much of that Oyle or Balsom, as Ivy, Bayes, Laurel, Holly, and the like, live long, and appear fresh and green, not onely in Winter, but when they are old. Then I ask'd my Lord's Opinion concerning the Radical heat: To which he answer'd, That the Radical heat lived in the Radical moisture; and when the one decayed, the other decayed also; and then was produced either an unnatural heat, which caused an unnatural dryness; or an unnatural moisture, which caused Dropsies, and these, an unnatural coldness.

Lastly; His Natural Wit appears by his delight in Poetry; for I may justly call him the best *Lyrick* and *Dramatick* Poet of this Age: His Comedies do sufficiently shew his great Observation and Judgment, for they

are composed of these three Ingredients, *viz Wit, Humour* and *Satyre;* and his chie Design in them, is to divulge and laugh at the follies of Mankind; to persecute Vice, and to encourage Virtue.

10. *Of his Natural Humour and Disposition.*

My Lord may justly be compared to *Titus* the *Delicia* of Mankind, by reason of his sweet, gentle and obliging Nature; for though his Wisdom and Experience found it impossible to please all men, because of their different humours and dispositions; yet his Nature is such, that he will be sorry when he seeth that men are displeased with him out of their own ill Natures, without any cause; for he loves all that are his Friends, and hates none that are his Enemies: He is a Loyal Subject, a kind Husband, a Loving Father, a Generous Master, and a Constant Friend.

His natural Love to his Parents has been so great, that I have heard him say, he would most willingly, and without the lest repining, have begg'd for his daily relief, so God would but have let his Parents live.

He is true and just both in his words and actions, and has no mean or petty Designs, but they are all just and honest.

He condemns not upon Report, but upon Proof; nor judges by Words, but Actions; he forgets not past Service, for present Advantage; but gives a present Reward to a present Desert.

He hath a great Power over his Passions, and hath had the greatest tryals thereof; for certainly He must of necessity have a great

share of Patience, that can forgive so many false, treacherous, malicious and ungrateful Persons as he hath done; but he is so wise, that his Passion never out-runs his Patience, nor his Extravagancies his Prudence; and although his Private Enemies have been numerous, yet I verily believe, there is never a subject more generally beloved then He is.

He hates Pride and loves Humility; is civil to Strangers, kind to his Acquaintance, and respectful to all persons, according to their Quality: He never regards Place, except it be for Ceremony: To the meanest person he'll put off his Hat, and suffer every body to speak to him.

He never refuses any Petition, but accepts them; and being informed of the business, will give a just, and as much as lies in him, a favourable answer to the Petitioning Party.

He easily Pardons, and bountifully Rewards; and always praises particular mens Virtues, but covers their Faults with silence.

He is full of Charity and Compassion to persons that are in misery, and full of Clemency and Mercy; in so much, that when he was General of a great Army, he would never sit in Council himself upon Causes of Life and Death, but granted Pardon to many Delinquents that were condemned by his Council of War; so that some were forced to Petition him not to do it, by reason it was an ill president for others. To which my Lord merrily answer'd, That if they did hang all, they would leave him none to fight.

His Courage he always shew'd in Action

more then in Words, for he would Fight, but not Rant.

He is not Vain-glorious to heighten or brag of his Heroick Actions; Witness that great Victory upon *Atherton-moor*, after which he would not suffer his Trumpets to sound, but came quietly and silently into the City of *York*, for which he would certainly have been blamed by those that make a great noise upon small causes; and love to be applauded, though their actions little deserve it.

His noble Bounty and Generosity is so manifest to all the World, that I should light a Candle to the Sun, if I should strive to illustrate it; for he has no self-designs or self-interest, but will rather wrong and injure himself then others. To give you but one proof of this noble Vertue, it is known, that where he hath a legal right to Felons Goods, as he hath in a great part of his Estate, yet he never took or exacted more then some inconsiderable share for acknowledgment of his Right; saying, That he was resolved never to grow rich by other mens misfortunes.

In short, I know him not addicted to any manner of Vice, except that he has been a great lover and admirer of the Female Sex; which whether it be so great a crime as to condemn him for it; I'le leave to the judgment of young Gallants and beautiful Ladies.

11. *Of His outward Shape and Behaviour.*

His Shape is neat, and exactly proportioned; his Stature of a middle size, and his Complexion sanguine.

His Behaviour is such, that it might be a

Pattern for all Gentlemen ; for it is Courtly, Civil, easie and free, without Formality or Constraint ; and yet hath something in it of grandure, that causes an awful respect towards him.

12. *Of His Discourse.*

His Discourse is as free and unconcerned, as his Behaviour, Pleasant, Witty, and Instructive ; He is quick in Reparties or sudden answers, and hates dubious disputes, and premeditated Speeches. He loves also to intermingle his Discourse with some short pleasant stories, and witty sayings, and always names the Author from whom he hath them ; for he hates to make another man's Wit his own.

13. *Of His Habit.*

He accouters his Person according to the Fashion, if it be one that is not troublesome and uneasie for men of Heroiok Exercises and Actions. He is neat and cleanly ; which makes him to be somewhat long in dressing, though not so long as many effeminate persons are. He shifts ordinarily once a day, and every time when he uses Exercise, or his temper is more hot then ordinary.

14. *Of his DIET.*

In his Diet he is so sparing and temperate, that he never eats nor drinks beyond his set proportion, so as to satisfie onely his natural appetite : He makes but one Meal a day, at which he drinks two good Glasses of Small-Beer, one about the beginning, the other at the end thereof, and a little Glass of

Sack in the middle of his Dinner; which Glass of Sack he also uses in the morning for his Breakfast, with a Morsel of Bread. His Supper consists of an Egg, and a draught of Small-beer. And by this Temperance he finds himself very healthful, and may yet live many years, he being now of the Age of Seventy three, which I pray God from my soul, to grant him.

15. *His Recreation and Exercise.*

His prime Pastime and Recreation hath always been the Exercise of Mannage and Weapons; which Heroick Arts he used to practise every day; but I observing that when he had over-heated himself, he would be apt to take cold, prevail'd so far, that at last he left the frequent use of the Mannage, using nevertheless still the Exercise of Weapons; and though he doth not ride himself so frequently as he hath done; yet he takes delight in seeing his Horses of Mannage rid by his Escuyers, whom he instructs in that Art for his own pleasure. But in the Art of Weapons (in which he has a method beyond all that ever were famous in it, found out by his own Ingenuity and Practice) he never taught any body, but the now Duke of *Buckingham*, whose Guardian He hath been, and his own two sons.

The rest of his time he spends in Musick, Poetry, Architecture and the like.

16. *Of His Pedigree.*

Having made promise in the beginning of the first Book, that I would join a more large

Description of the Pedigree of my Noble Lord and Husband, to the end of the History of his life: I shall now discharge my self; and though I could derive it from a longer time, and reckon up a great many of his Ancestors, even from the time of *William* the Conqueror, He being descended from the most ancient family of the *Gernouns*, as *Cambden* relates in his *Britannia*, in the Description of *Derbyshire*; yet it being a work fitter for Heralds, I shall proceed no further then his Grandfather, and shew you onely those noble Families which my Lord is allied to by his Birth.

My Lord's Grandfather, by his Father, (as is formerly mentioned) was Sir *William Cavendish*, Privy-Counsellor and Treasurer of the Chamber to King *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*; who married two Wives; by the first he had onely two Daughters; but by the second, *Elizabeth*, who was my Lords Grandmother, he had three Sons and four Daughters, whereof one Daughter died young. She was Daughter to *John Hardwick* of *Hardwick*, in the County of *Derby*, Esq.; and had four Husbands: The first was — *Barlow*, Esq.; who died before they were bedded together, they being both very young. The second was Sir *William Cavendish*, my Lord's Grandfather, who being somewhat in years, married her chiefly for her beauty; she had so much power in his affection, that she perswaded him to sell his Estate which he had in the Southern parts of *England* (for he was very rich) and buy an Estate in the Northern parts, *viz.* in *Derby-*

shire, and thereabout, where her own friends and kindred liv'd, which he did ; and having there setled himself, upon her further perswasion, built a Mannor-house in the same County, call'd *Chattesworth*, which, as I have heard, cost first and last above 80,000 l. *sterling*. But before this House was finish'd, he died, and left six Children, viz. three Sons and three Daughters, which before they came to be marriageable, she married a third Husband, Sir William S^t *Loo* Captain of the Guard to Queen *Elizabeth*, and Grand Butler of *England ;* who dying without Issue, she married a fourth Husband, *George*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, by whom she left no issue.

The Children which she had by her second Husband, Sir *William Cavendish*, being grown marriageable ; the eldest Son *Henry*, married *Grace* the youngest Daughter of his Father in Law, the said *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, which he had by his former Wife *Gertrude*, Daughter of *Thomas Manners*, Earl of *Rutland*, but died without Issue.

The second Son *William*, after Earl of *Devonshire*, had two Wives ; the first was an Heiress, by whom he had Children, but all died save one Son, whose name was also *William*, Earl of *Devonshire :* His second Wife was Widdow to Sir *Edward Wortly*, who had several Children by her first Husband, and but one Son by the said *Will. Cavendish*, after Earl of *Devonshire*, who dyed young.

His Son by his first Wife, (*William* Earl of *Devonshire*) married *Christian*, Daughter of *Edward* Lord *Bruce*, a *Scots*-man, by whom he had two Sons, and one Daughter ; the

Eldest Son *William*, now Earl of *Devonshire*, married *Elizabeth*, the second Daughter of *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, by whom he has three children, *viz.* Two Sons and one Daughter, whereof the Eldest Son *William* is married to the second Daughter of *James* now Duke of *Ormond*; the second Son *Charles* is yet a youth: The Daughter *Anne* married the Lord *Rich*, the onely Son and Child to *Charles* now Earl of *Warwick*; but he dyed without Issue.

The second Son of *William* Earl of *Devonshire*, and Brother to the now Earl of *Devonshire*, was unfortunately slain in the late Civil Warrs, as is before mentioned.

The Daughter of the said *William* Earl of *Devonshire*, Sister to the now Earl of *Devonshire*, married *Robert* Lord *Rich*, Eldest Son to *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, by whom she had but one Son, who married, but dyed without Issue.

The third and youngest Son of Sir *William Cavendish*, *Charles Cavendish*, (my Lord's Father) had two Wives; the first was Daughter and Coheir to Sir *Thomas Kidson*, who dyed a year after her Marriage, without issue: The second was the younger Daughter of *Cuthbert* Lord *Ogle*, and after her Elder and onely Sister *Jane*, Wife to *Edward* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who dyed without Issue, became Heir to her Father's Estate and Title; by whom he had three Sons; whereof the eldest dyed in his Infancy; the second was *William*, my dear Lord and Husband; the third, *Charles*, who dyed a Batchelour about the age of Sixty three.

My Lord hath had two Wives; the first was *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heir to *William Basset* of *Bloore*, in the County of *Stafford*, Esq.; and Widow to *Henry Howard*, younger Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*; by whom he had ten Children, *viz.* Six Sons, and four Daughters; whereof five, *viz.* four Sons, and one Daughter, dyed young; the rest, *viz.* Two Sons and three Daughters, came to be married.

His Elder Son, *Charles*, Viscount of *Mansfield*, married the Eldest Daughter and Heir of Mr. *Richard Rogers*, by whom he had but one Daughter, who dyed soon after her birth; and he dyed also without any other Issue.

His second Son *Henry*, now Earl of *Ogle*, married *Francis* the eldest Daughter of Mr. *William Pierrepont*, by whom he hath had three Sons, and four Daughters; two Sons were born before their natural time; the third, *Henry* Lord *Mansfield* is alive: The four Daughters are, the Lady *Elizabeth*, Lady *Frances*, Lady *Margaret*, and Lady *Catherine*.

My Lords three Daughters were thus married; The eldest, Lady *Jane*, married *Charles Cheiney*, Esq.; descended of a very noble and ancient family; by whom she hath one Son and two Daughters. The second, Lady *Elizabeth*, married *John* now Earl of *Bridgwater*, then Lord *Brackly*, and eldest Son to *John* then Earl of *Bridgwater*; who died in Childbed, and left five Sons, and one Daughter, whereof the eldest Son *John* Lord *Brackly*, married the Lady *Elizabeth*,

onely Daughter and Child to *James* then Earl of *Middlesex*.

My Lords third Daughter, the Lady *Frances*, married *Oliver* Earl of *Bullingbrook*, and hath had no Child yet.

After the death of my Lords first Wife, who died the *17th* of *April*, in the Year 1643, he married me, *Margaret*, Daughter to *Thomas Lucas* of St. *Johns* near *Colchester*, in *Essex*, Esquire; but hath no Issue by me.

And this is the Posterity of the three Sons of Sir *William Cavendish*, my Lords Grandfather by his Fathers side; The three Daughters were disposed of as followeth:

The eldest, *Frances Cavendish*, married Sir *Henry Pierrepont* of *Holm Pierrepont*, in the County of *Nottingham*, by whom she had two Sons, whereof the first died young; The second, *Robert*, after Earl of *Kingston* upon *Hull*, married *Gertrude*, the eldest Daughter, and Co-heir to *Henry Talbot*, fourth Son to *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, by whom he had five Sons and three Daughters, whereof the eldest Son, *Henry*, now Marquess of *Dorchester*, hath had two Wives; the first *Cecilia*, Eldest Daughter to the Lord Viscount *Bayning*, by whom he had several Children, of which there are living onely two Daughters; the eldest *Anne*, who married *John Rosse*, onely Son to *John* now Earl of *Rutland*; the second, *Grace*, who is unmarried. His second Wife was *Catharine*, second Daughter to *James* Earl of *Derby*, by whom he has no Issue living.

The second Son of the Earl of *Kingston*, *William*, married the sole Daughter and

Heir of Sir *Thomas Harries*, by whom he had Issue five Sons, and five Daughters, whereof two Sons and two Daughters died unmarried: The other six are,

Robert the Eldest, who married *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Co-heir to Sir *John Evelyne*, by whom he has three Sons, and one Daughter. The second Son *George*, and the third *Gervas*, are yet unmarried.

The eldest Daughter of *William Pierrepont*, *Frances*, is married to my Lords now onely Son and Heir, *Henry* Earl of *Ogle*, as before is mentioned.

The second, *Grace*, is married to *Gilbert* now Earl of *Clare*, by whom he hath Issue, Two sons, and three daughters.

The third, *Gertrude*, is unmarried.

The third son of the Earl of *Kingston*, *Francis Pierrepont*, married *Elizabeth* the eldest daughter of Mr. *Bray*, by whom he had Issue, one son, and one daughter; the son, *Robert*, married *Anne* the daughter of *Henry Murray*. The daughter, *Frances*, married *William Pagatt*, eldest son to *William Pagatt*. (Paget.)

The fourth son of the Earl of *Kingston*, *Gervase*, is unmarried.

The fifth son, *George Pierrepont*, married the daughter of Mr. *Jonas*, by whom he had two sons unmarried, *Henry* and *Samuel*.

The three daughters of the said Earl of *Kingston*, are, *Frances* the eldest, who was married to *Philip Rowleston*; the second, *Mary*, dyed young; the third, *Elizabeth*, is unmarried.

The second daughter of Sir *William*

Cavendish, *Elizabeth*, married the Earl of *Lennox*, Unkle to King *James*; by whom she had onely one daughter, the Lady *Arabella*, who against King *Jame's* Commands (she being after Him and His Children, the next Heir to the Crown) married *William*, the second son to the Earl of *Hereford*; for which she was put into the Tower, where not long after she dyed.

The youngest daughter *Mary Cavendish*, married *Gilbert Talbot*, second son to *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*; who after the decease of his Father, and his elder Brother *Francis*, who dyed without Issue, became Earl of *Shrewsbury*; by whom she had Issue, four sons, and three daughters; the sons all dyed in their Infancy, but the daughters were married.

The eldest, *Mary Talbot*, married *William Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*, by whom (some eighteen years after her Marriage) she had one son, who dyed young.

The second daughter, *Elizabeth*, married Sir *Henry Gray*, after *Earl* of *Kent*, (the fourth Earl of *England*) by whom she had no Issue.

The third and youngest daughter *Aletheia*, married *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, the first Earl, and Earl-Marshal of *England*; by whom she left two sons, *James*, who died beyond the seas without Issue; and *Henry*, who married *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Esme Stuart*, Duke of *Lennox*; by whom he had Issue, several sons, and one daughter; whereof the eldest son, *Thomas*, (since the

Restauration of King *Charles* the Second) was restored to the Dignity of his Ancestors, *viz.* Duke of *Norfolk*, next to the Royal Family, the first Duke of *England*.

And this is briefly the Pedigree of my dear Lord and Husband, from his Grandfather by his Fathers side; concerning his Kindred and alliances by his Mother, who was *Katherine*, Daughter to *Cuthbert* Lord *Ogle*, they are so many, that it is impossible for me to enumerate them all, My Lord being by his Mother related to the chief of the most ancient Families of *Northumberland*, and other the Northern parts; onely this I may mention, that My Lord is a Peer of the Realm, from the first year of King *Edward* the Fourth his Reign.

The

Life of the Moſt Illuſtrious Prince, William Duke of Newcaſtle

THE FOURTH BOOK

CONTAINING SEVERAL ESSAYS AND DISCOURSES GATHER'D FROM THE MOUTH OF MY NOBLE LORD AND HUSBAND

With some few Notes of mine own

I have heard My Lord say,

I.

THAT those which command the Wealth of a Kingdom, command the hearts and hands of the People.

II.

That He is a great Monarch, who hath a Soveraign Command over Church, Laws and Armes; and He a wise Monarch, that imploys his subjects for their own profit, (for their profit is his) encourages Tradesmen, and assists and defends Merchants.

III.

That it is a part of Prudence in a Commonwealth or Kingdom to encourage drayners; for drowned Lands are onely fit to maintain and encrease some wild Ducks, whereas being drained, they are able to afford nourishment and food to Cattel, besides the producing of several sorts of Fruit and Corn.

IV.

That without a well order'd force, a Prince doth but reign upon the courtesie of others.

V.

That great Princes should not suffer their chief Cities to be stronger then themselves.

VI.

That great Princes are half-armed, when their subjects are unarmed, unless it be in time of Foreign Wars.

VII.

That the Prince is richest, who is Master of the Purse; and he strongest that is Master of the Armes; and he wisest that can tell how to save the one, and use the other.

VIII.

The Great Princes should be the onely Pay-Masters of their Soldiers, and pay them out of their own Treasuries; for all men follow the Purse; and so they'l have both the Civil and Martial Power in their hands.

IX.

That Great Monarchs should rather study men, then Books; for all affairs or business are amongst Men.

X.

That a Prince should advance Foreign Trade or Traffik to the utmost of his Power, because no State or Kingdom can be Rich without it; and where Subjects are poor, the Soveraign can have but little.

XI.

That Trade and Traffick brings Honey to

the Hive; that is to say, Riches to the Commonwealth; whereas other Professions are so far from that, that they rather rob the Commonwealth, instead of enriching it.

XII.

That it is not so much unseasonable Weather that makes the Countrey complain of Scarcity, but want of Commerce; for whensoever Commodities are cheap, it is a sign that Commerce is decayed; because the cheapness of them, shews a scarcity of money; for example, put the case five men came to Market to buy a Horse, and each of them had no more but ten pounds, the Seller can receive no more then what the Buyer has, but must content himself with those ten pounds, if he be necessitated to sell his Horse: But if each one of the Buyers had an hundred pounds to lay out for a Horse, the Seller might receive as much. Thus Commodities are cheap or dear, according to the plenty or scarcity of money; and though we had Mynes of Gold and Silver at home, and no Traffick into Foreign parts, yet we should want necessaries from other Nations, which proves that no Nation can live or subsist well, without Foreign Trade and Commerce; for God and Nature have order'd it so, That no particular Nation is provided with all things.

XIII.

That Merchants by carrying out more Commodities then they bring in; that is to say, by selling more then they buy, do enrich

a State or Kingdom with money, that hath none in its own bowels; but what Kingdom or State soever hath Mynes of Gold and Silver, there Merchants buy more then they sell, to furnish and accommodate it with necessary provisions.

XIV.

That debasing, and setting a higher value upon money, is but a present shift of poor and needy Princes; and doth more hurt for the future, then good for the present.

XV.

That Foraign Commerce causes frequent Voyages; and frequent Voyages make skilful and experienced Seamen, and Skilful Sea men are a Brazen Wall to an Island.

XVI.

That he is the Powerfullest Monarch that hath the best shipping; and that a Prince should hinder his Neighbours as much as he can, from being strong at Sea.

XVII.

That wise States-men ought to understand the Laws, Customes and Trade of the Commonwealth, and have good intelligence both of Foraign Transactions and Designs, and of Domestick Factions; also they ought to have a Treasury, and well-furnished Magazine.

XVIII.

That it is a great matter in a State or Kingdom, to take care of the Education of Youth,

to breed them so, that they may know first how to obey, and then how to command and order affairs wisely.

XIX.

That it is great Wisdom in a State, to breed and train up good States-men: As, first, To let them be some time at the Universities: Next, To put them to the Innes of Court, that they may have some knowledg of the Laws of the Land; then to send them to travel with some Ambassador, in the quality of Secretary; and let them be Agents or Residents in Foraign Countreys. Fourthly, To make them Clerks of the Signet, or Council: And lastly, To make them Secretaries of State, or give them some other Employment in State-Affairs.

XX.

That there should be more Praying, and less Preaching; for much Preaching breeds Faction; but much Praying causes Devotion.

XXI.

That young people should be frequently Catechised, and that Wise Men rather then Learned, should be chosen heads of Schools and Colledges.

XXII.

That the more divisions there are in Church and State, the more trouble and confusion is apt to ensue: Wherefore too many Controversies and Disputes in the one, and too many Law-Cases and Pleadings in the other ought to be avoided and suppressed.

XXIII.

That Disputes and Factions amongst Statesmen, are fore-runners of future disorders, if not total ruines.

XXIV.

That all Books of Controversies should be writ in Latin, that none but the Learned may read them, and that there should be no Disputations but in Schools, lest it breed Factions amongst the Vulgar; for Disputations and Controversies are a kind of Civil War, maintained by the Pen, and often draw out the sword soon after: Also that all Prayer-Books should be writ in the native Language; that Excommunications should not be too frequent for every little and pretty trespass; that every Clergy-man should be kind and loving to his Parishioners, not proud and quarrelsome.

XXV.

That Ceremony is nothing in itself, and yet doth every thing; for without Ceremony there would be no distinction neither in Church nor State.

XXVI.

That Orders and Professions ought not to entrench upon each other, lest in time they make a confusion amongst themselves.

XXVII.

That in a Well-ordered State or Government, care should be taken lest any degree or profession whatsoever swell too big, or grow

too numerous, it being not onely a hinderance to those of the same profession, but a burden to the Commonwealth, which cannot be well if it exceeds in extreams.

XXVIII.

That the Taxes should not be above the riches of the Commonwealth, for that must upon necessity breed Factions and Civil Wars, by reason a general poverty united, is far more dangerous then a private Purse; for though their Wealth be small, yet their Unity and Combination makes them strong; so that being armed with necessity, they become outragious with despair.

XXIX.

That Heavy Taxes upon Farmes, ruine the Nobility and Gentry; for if the Tenant be poor, the Landlord cannot be rich, he having nothing but his Rents to live on.

XXX.

That it is not so much Laws and Religion, nor Rhetorick, that keeps a State or Kingdom in order, but Armes; which if they be not imploy'd to an evil use, keep up the right and priviledges both of Crown, Church and State.

XXXI.

That no equivocations should be used either in Church or Law; for the one causes several Opinions to the Disturbance of mens Consciences; the other long and tedious Suits, to the disturbance of mens private Affairs;

and both do oftentimes ruine and impoverish the State.

XXXII.

That in Cases of Robberies and Murthers, it is better to be severe, then merciful; for the hanging of a few, will save the lives and Purses of many.

XXXIII.

That many Laws do rather entrap, then help the subject.

XXXIV.

That no Martial Law should be executed, but in an Army.

XXXV.

That the Sheriffs in this Kingdom of *England* have been so expensive in Liveries and Entertainments in the time of their Sherifalty, as it hath ruined many Families that had but indifferent Estates.

XXXVI.

That the cutting down of Timber in the time of Rebellion, has been an inestimable loss to this Kingdom, by reason of Shipping; for though Timber might be had out of Foreign Countries that would serve for the building of Ships, yet there is none of such a temper as our *English* Oak; it being not onely strong and large, but not apt to splint, which renders the Ships of other Nations much inferior to ours; and that therefore it would be very beneficial for the Kingdom, to set out some Lands for the bearing of such Oaks, by sowing of Acorns, and then trans-

planting them ; which would be like a Storehouse for shipping, and bring an incomparable benefit to the Kingdom, since in Shipping consists our greatest strength, they being the onely Walls that defend an Island.

XXXVII.

That the Nobility and Gentry in this Kingdom, have done themselves a great injury, by giving away (out of a petty pride) to the Commonalty, the power of being Juries and Justices of Peace ; for certainly they cannot but understand, that that must of necessity be an act of great Consequence and Power, which concerns mens Lives, Lands and Estates.

XXXVIII.

That it is no act of Prudence to make poor and mean persons Governours or Commanders, either by Land or Sea ; by reason their poverty causes them to take Bribes, and so betray their Trust ; at best, they are apt to extort, which is a great grievance to the people ; besides, it breeds envy in the Nobility and Gentry, who by that means rise into Factions, and cause disturbances in a State or Commonwealth : Wherefore the best way is to chuse Rich and Honourable Persons, (or at least, Gentlemen) for such Employments, who esteem Fame and Honourable Actions, above their Lives ; and if they want skill, they must get such under-Officers as have more then themselves, to instruct them.

XXXIX.

That great Princes should consider, before they make War against Foreign Nations, whether they be able to maintain it; for if they be not able, then it is better to submit to an honourable Peace, then to make Warr to their great disadvantage; but if they be able to maintain Warr, then they'l force (in time) their Enemies to submit and yeild to what Tearms and Conditions they please.

XL.

That, when a State or Government is ensnarled and troubled, it is more easie to raise the common people to a Factious Mutiny, then to draw them to a Loyal Duty.

XLI.

That in a Kingdom where Subjects are apt to rebel, no Offices or Commands should be sold; for those that buy, will not onely use extortion, and practice unjust wayes to make out their purchase, but be ablest to rebel, by reason they are more for private gain, then the publick good; for it is probable their Principles are like their Purchases.

But, that all Magistrates, Officers, Commanders, Heads and Rulers, in what Profession soever, both in Church and State, should be chosen according to their Abilities, Wisdom, Courage, Piety, Justice, Honesty and Loyalty; and then they'l mind the public Good, more then their particular Interest.

XLII.

That those which have Politick Designs,

are for the most part dishonest, by reason their Designs tend more to Interest, then Justice.

XLIII.

That Great Princes should onely have Great, Noble and Rich Persons to attend them, whose Purses and Power may alwayes be ready to assist them.

XLIV.

That a Poor Nobility is apt to be Factious; and a Numerous Nobility is a burden to a Commonwealth.

XLV.

That in a Monarchical Government, to be for the King, is to be for the Commonwealth; for when Head and Body are divided, the Life of Happiness dies, and the Soul of Peace is departed.

XLVI.

That, as it is a great Error in a State to have all Affairs put into *Gazettes*, (for it overheats the peoples brains, and makes them neglect their private Affairs, by over-busying themselves with State-business;) so it is great Wisdom for a Council of State to have good Intelligences (although they be bought with great Cost and Charges) as well of Domestick, as Foreign Affairs and Transactions, and to keep them in private for the benefit of the Commonwealth.

XLVII.

That there is no better Policy for a Prince to please his People, then to have many Holy-

dayes for their ease, and order several Sports and Pastimes for their Recreation, and to be himself sometimes Spectator thereof; by which means he'l not onely gain love and respect from the people, but busie their minds in harmless actions, sweeten their Natures, and hinder them from Factious Designs.

XLVIII.

That it is more difficult and dangerous for a Prince or Commander to raise an Army in such a time when the Countrey is embroiled in a Civil Warr, then to lead out an Army to fight a Battel; for when an Army is raised, he hath strength; but in raising it, he hath none.

XLIX.

That good Commanders, and experienced Soldiers, are like skilfull Fencers, who defend with Prudence, and assault with Courage, and kill their Enemies by Art, not trusting their Lives to Chance or Fortune; for as a little man with skill, may easily kill an ignorant Giant; so a small Army that hath experienced Commanders, may easily overcome a great Army that hath none.

L.

That Gallant men having no employment for Heroick Actions, become lazy, as hating any other business; whereas Cowards and base persons are onely active and stirring in times of Peace, working ill designs to breed Factions, and cause disturbances in a Common-wealth.

LI.

That there have been many Questions and Disputes concerning the Governments of Princes; as, Whether they ought to govern by Love, or Fear? But the best way of Government is, and has alwayes been by just Rewards and Punishments; for that State which cannot tell how and when to punish and reward, does not know how to govern, by reason all the World is governed that way.

LII.

That if the ancient *Britains* had had skill, according to their Courage, they might have conquer'd all the World, as the *Romans* did.

LIII.

That it would be very beneficial for great Princes to be sometimes present in Courts of Judicature, to examine the Causes of their poor Subjects, and find out the Extortions and Corruptions of Magistrates and Officers; by which glorious Act they would gain much Love and Fame from the People.

LIV.

That it would be very advantagious for Subjects, and not in the least prejudicial to the Soveraign, to have a general Register in every County, for the Entry of all manner of Deeds, and Conveyance of Land between party and party, and Offices of Record; for by this means, whosoever buyes, would see clearly what Interest and Title there is in any Land he intends to purchase, whereby he shall be assur'd that the Sale made to him

is good and firm, and prevent many Law-suits touching the Title of his Purchase.

LV.

That there should be a Limitation for Law-Suits; and that the longest Suit should not last above two Tearms, at length not above a Year; which would certainly be a great benefit to the Subjects in general, though not to Lawyers; and though some Polititians object, That the more the people is busie about their private Affairs, the less time have they to make disturbance in the publick; yet this is but a weak Argument, since Law-suits are as apt to breed Factions, as any thing else; for they bring people into poverty, that they know not how to live, which must of necessity breed discontent, and put them upon ill designs.

LVI.

That Power, for the most part, does more then Wisdom; for Fools with Power, seem wise; whereas wise men, without Power, seem Fools; and this is the reason that the World takes Power for Wisdom; and the want of Power for Foolishness.

LVII.

That a valiant man will not refuse an honourable Duel; nor a wise man fight upon a Fools Quarrel.

LVIII.

That men are apt to find fault with each other's actions; believing they prove them-

selves wise in finding fault with their Neighbours.

LIX.

That a wise man will draw several occasions to the point of his design, as a Burning-Glass doth the several beams of the Sun.

LX.

That although actions may be prudently designed, and valiantly performed; yet none can warrant the issue; for Fortune is more powerful then Prudence, and had *Cæsar* not been fortunate, his Valour and Prudence would never have gained him so much applause.

LXI.

That ill Fortune, makes wise and honest men seem Fools and Knaves; but good Fortune makes Fools and Knaves seem wise and honest men.

LXII.

That ill Fortune doth oftner succeed good, then good Fortune succeeds ill; for those that have ill Fortune, do not so easily recover it, as those that have good Fortune are apt to lose it.

LXIII.

That he had observed, That seldom any person did laugh, but it was at the follies or misfortunes of other men; by which we may judg of their good natures.

LXIV.

I have heard my Lord say, That when he was in Banishment, He had nothing left him,

but a clear Conscience, by which he had and did still conquer all the Armies of misfortunes that ever seized upon him.

LXV.

Also I have heard him say, That he was never beholding to Lady Fortune; for he had suffered on both sides, although he never was but on one side.

LXVI.

I have heard him say, That his Father one time, upon some discourse of expences, should tell him, *It was but just that every man should have his time.*

LXVII.

I have heard my Lord say, That bold soliciting and intruding men, shall gain more by their importunate Petitions, then modest honest men shall get by silence (as being loath to offend, or be too troublesome) both in the manner and matter of their requests: The reason is, said he, That Great Princes will rather grant sometimes an unreasonable suit, then be tired with frequent Petitions, and hindered from their ordinary Pleasures; And when I asked my Lord, whether the Grants of such importunate suits were fitly and properly placed? He answered, Not so well as those that are placed upon due consideration, and upon trial and proof.

LXVIII.

I have heard my Lord say, That it is a great Error, and weak Policy in a State, to

advance their Enemies, and endeavour to make them friends by bribing them with Honours and Offices, saying, They are shrewd men, and may do the State much hurt: And on the other side, to neglect their Friends, and those that have done them great service, saying, they are Honest men, and mean the State no harm: For this kind of Policy comes from the Heathen, who pray'd to the Devil, and not to God, by reason they supposed God was Good, and would hurt no Creature; but the Devil they flatter'd and worshipp'd out of fear, lest he should hurt them: But by this foolish Policy, said he, they most commonly encrease their Enemies, and lose their Friends; for first, it teaches men to observe, that the onely way to Preferment, is to be against the State or Government: Next, Since all that are Factious, cannot be rewarded or preferr'd, by reason a State hath more Subjects, then Rewards or Preferments, there must of necessity be numerous Enemies; for when their hopes of Reward fail them, they grow more Factious and Inveterate then ever they were at first: Wherefore the best Policy in a State or Government, said my Lord, is to reward Friends, and punish Enemies, and prefer the Honest before the Factious; and then all will be real Friends, and profer their honest service, either out of pure Love and Loyalty, or in hopes of Advancement, seeing there is none but by serving the State.

LXIX.

I have heard him say several times, That

his love to his gracious Master King *Charles* the Second, was above the love he bore to his Wife, Children, and all his Posterity, nay to his own life: And when, since His Return into *England*, I answer'd him, That I observed His Gracious Master did not love him so well as he lov'd Him; he replied, That he cared not whether His Majesty lov'd him again or not; for he was resolved to love him.

LXX.

I asking my Lord one time, What kind of Fate it was, that restored our Gracious King, *Charles* the Second, to His Throne? He answer'd, It was a blessed kind of Fate. I replied, That I had observed a perfect contrariety between the Fortunes of His Royal Father, of blessed memory, and Him; for as there was a division amongst the generality of the people, in the Reign of King *Charles* the First, tending to His Destruction; so there was a general Combination and Agreement between them in King *Charles* the Second His Restauration; and as there was a general malice amongst the people against the Father to Depose Him; so there was a general Love for the Son to Enthrone Him. My Lord answer'd, I had observed something, but not all; for, said he, there was a Necessity for the people to desire and Restore King *Charles* the Second; but there was no Necessity to Murder King *Charles* the First. For the Kingdom being through so many Alterations and Changes of Government, divided into several Factions and Parties,

was at last hurried into such a Confusion, that it was impossible in that manner to subsist, or hold out any longer; Which Confusion having opened the Peoples Eyes, the generality being tyred with the evil effects and consequences of their unsetled Governments under unjust Usurpers, and frightned with the apprehension of future dangers, began to call to mind the happy Times, when in an uninterrupted Peace they enjoyed their own, under the happy Reign of their Lawful Soveraigns; and hereupon with an unanimous consent Recall'd and Restor'd our now gracious King; which, although it was opposed by some Factious Parties, yet the generality of the people outweigh'd the rest; neither was the Royal Party wanting in their endeavours.

LXXI.

Asking my Lord one time, Whether it was easie or difficult to govern a State or Kingdom? He answer'd me, That most States were govern'd by secret Policy, and so with difficulty; for those that govern, are (at least, should be) wiser then the State or Commonwealth they govern. I replied, That in my opinion, a State was easily govern'd, if their Government was like unto God's; that is to say, If Governours did Reward and Punish according to the desert. My Lord answer'd, I said well; but he added, the Follies of the People are many times too hard for the Prudence of the Governour; like as the sins of men work more evil effects in them, then the Grace of

God works good; for if this were not, there would be more good then bad, which, alas, Experience proves otherwise.

LXXII.

Some Gentlemen making a complaint to my Lord, That some he employed in His Majesty's Affairs, were too hasty and over-busie. My Lord told them, That he would rather chuse such persons for His Majesties service as were over-active, then such that would be fuller of Questions then Actions. The same he would do for his own particular affairs.

LXXIII.

Some condemning My Lord for having *Roman-Catholicks* and *Scots* in His Army; He answer'd them, that he did not examine their Opinions in Religion, but look'd more upon their Honesty and Duty; for certainly there were Honest men and loyal Subjects amongst *Roman Catholicks*, as well as Protestants; and amongst *Scots* as well as *English*. Nevertheless, my Lord, as he was for the King, so he was also for the Orthodox Church of *England*, as sufficiently appears by the care he took in ordering the Church-Government, mentioned in the History. To which purpose, when my Lord was walking one time with some of His Officers in the Church at *Durham*, and wonder'd at the greatness and strength of the Pillars that supported that structure; My Brother, Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was then with him, told my Lord, that he must confess, those Pillars

were very great, and of a vast strength ; But said he, Your Lordship is a far greater Pillar of the Church then all these : Which certainly was also a real truth, and would have more evidently appear'd, had Fortune favour'd my Lord more then she did.

LXXIV.

My Lord being in Banishment, I told him, that he was happy in his misfortunes, for he was not subject to any State or Prince. To which he jestingly answer'd, That as he was subject to no Prince, so he was a Prince of no Subjects.

LXXV.

In some Discourse which I had with my Lord concerning Princes and their Subjects ; I declared that I had observed Great Princes were not like the Sun, which sends forth out of it self Rays of Light, and Beams of Heat ; effects that did both glorifie the Sun, and nourish and comfort sublunary Creatures ; but their glory and splendor proceeded rather from the Ceremony which they received from their subjects. To which my Lord answer'd, That Subjects were so far from giving splendor to their Princes, that all the Honours and Titles, in which consists the chief splendor of a subject, were principally derived from them ; for, said he, were there no Princes, there would be none to confer Honours and Titles upon them.

LXXVI.

My Lord entertaining one time some Gentlemen with a merry Discourse, told

them, that he would not keep them Company except they had done and sufferd as much for their King and Country as he had. They answer'd, That they had not a power answerable to my Lords. My Lord replied, They should do their endeavour according to their Abilities: No, said they, if we did, we should be like your Self, lose all, and get but little for our pains.

LXXVII.

I being much grieved that my Lord for his loyalty and honest Service, had so many Enemies, used sometimes to speak somewhat sharply of them; but he gently reproving me, said, *I should do like experienced Sea-men, and as they either turn their Sails with the wind, or take them down; so should I either comply with Time, or abate my Passion.*

LXXVIII.

A Soldiers Wife, whose Husband had been slain in my Lord's Army, came one time to beg some relief of my Lord; who told her, That he was not able to relieve all that had been loyal to His Majesty; for said he, My losses are so many, that if I should give away the remainder of my Estate, my Wife and Children would have nothing to live on: She answer'd, That His Majesty's Enemies were preferr'd to great Honours, and had much Wealth: Then it is a sign (replied my Lord) that your Husband and I were Honest Men.

LXXIX.

A Friend of my Lord's, complaining that

he had done the State much Service, but received little Reward for it; my Lord answer'd him, That States did not usually reward past Services; but if he could do some present Service, he might perhaps get something; but (said he) those men are wisest that will be paid before-hand.

LXXX.

I observing that in the late Civil Warrs, many were desirous to be employed in States Affairs, and at the noise of Warr, endeavoured to be Commanders, though but of small Parties, asked my Lord the reason thereof, and what advantage they could make by their Employments? My Lord smilingly answer'd, That for the generality, he knew not what they could get, but danger, loss and labour for their pains. Then I ask'd him, Whether Generals of Great Armies were ever enriched by their Heroick Exploits, and great Victories? My Lord answer'd, That ordinary Commanders gained more, and were better rewarded then great Generals. To which I added, That I had observ'd the same in Histories, namely, That Men of great Merit and Power, had not onely no Rewards, but were either found fault withall, or laid aside when they had no more business or employment for them; and that I could not conceive any reason for it, but that States were afraid of their Power: My Lord answer'd, The reason was, That it was far more easie to reward Under-Officers, then Great Commanders.

LXXXI.

My Lord having since the Return from his Banishment, set up a Race of Horses, instead of those he lost by the Warrs, uses often to ride through his Park to see his Breed. One time it chanced when he went thorough it, that he espied some labouring-men sawing of Woods that were blown down by the Wind, for some particular uses; at which my Lord turning to his Attendants, said, That he had been at that Work a great part of his life. They not knowing what my Lord meant, but thinking he jested; I speak very seriously, (added he) and not in jest; for you see that this Tree which is blown down by the Wind, although it was sound and strong, yet it could not withstand its force; and now it is down, it must be cut in pieces, and made serviceable for several uses; whereof some will serve for Building, some for Paling, some for Firing, &c. In the like manner, said he, have I been cut down by the Lady Fortune; and being not able to resist so Powerful a Princess, I have been forced to make the best use of my Misfortunes, as the Chips of my Estate.

LXXXII.

My Lord discoursing one time with some of his Friends, of judging of other mens Natures, Dispositions and Actions; and some observing that men could not possibly know or judg of them, the events of mens actions falling out oftentimes contrary to their intentions; so that where they hit once, they fail'd twenty times in their Judg-

ments. My Lord answer'd, That his Judgment in that point seldom did miss, although he thought it weaker then theirs: The reason is, said he, Because I judg most men to be like my self; that is to say, Fools; when as you do judg them all according to your self, that is, Wise men; and since there are more Fools in the World then Wise men, I may sooner guess right then you: for though my judgment roves at random, yet it can never miss of Errors; which yours will never do, except you can dive into other mens Follies by the length of your own line, and found their bottom by the weight of your own Plummet, for the depth of Folly is beyond the line of Wisdom.

Besides, said he, You believe that other men would do as you would have them, or as you would do to them; wherein you are mistaken, for most men do the contrary. In short, Folly is bottomless, and hath no end; but Wisdom hath bounds to all her designs, otherwise she would never compass them.

LXXXIII.

My Lord discoursing some time with a Learned Doctor of Divinity concerning Faith, said, That in his opinion, the wisest way for a man, was to have as little Faith as he could for this World, and as much as he could for the next World.

LXXXIV.

In some Discourse with my Lord, I told him that I did speak sharpest to those I loved best. To which he jestingly answered, That

if so, then he would not have me love him best.

LXXXV.

After my Lords return from a long Banishment, when he had been in the Countrey some time, and endeavoured to pick up some Gleanings of his ruined Estate; it chanced that the Widow of *Charles* Lord *Mansfield*, My Lords Eldest Son, afterwards Duchess of *Richmond*, to whom the said Lord of *Mansfield* had made a joynture of 2000l. a Year, died not long after her second marriage; for whose death, though My Lord was heartily sorry, and would willingly have lost the said Money, had it been able to save her life; Yet discoursing one time merrily with his Friends, was pleased to say, That though his Earthly King and Master seem'd to have forgot him, yet the King of Heaven had remembred him, for he had given him 2000l. a Year.

Some Few Notes of the Authoresse

I.

IT was far more difficult in the late Civil Wars, for my Lord to raise an Army for His Majesties Service, then it was for the Parliament to raise an Army against His Majesty: Not onely because the Parliament were many, and my Lord but one single Person; but by reason a Kingly or Monarchical Government was then generally disliked, and most part of the Kingdom proved Rebellious, and assisted the Parliament either with their Purses or Persons, or both; when as the Army which my Lord raised for the defence and maintenance of the King, and his Rights, was raised most upon his own and his Friends Interest: For it is frequently seen and known by woful Experience, that rebellious and factious Parties do more suddenly and numerously flock together to act a mischievous design, then loyal and honest men to assist or maintain a just Cause; and certainly 'tis much to be lamented, that evil men should be more industrious and prosperous then good, and that the Wicked should have a more desperate Courage, then the Virtuous, an active Valour.

II.

I have observed, That many by flattering Poets, have been compared to *Cæsar*, without desert; but this I dare freely and without flattery say of my Lord, That though he had not *Cæsars* Fortune, yet he wanted not *Cæsars* Courage, nor his Prudence, nor his good Nature, nor his Wit; Nay, in some particulars he did more then *Cæsar* ever did; for though *Cæsar* had a great Army, yet he was first set ont by the State or Senators of *Rome*, who were Masters almost of all the World; when as my Lord raised his Army (as before is mentioned) most upon his own Interest (he having many Friends and Kindred in the Northern parts) at such a time when his Gracious King and Soveraign was then not Master of his own Kingdoms, He being overpower'd by his rebellious Subjects.

III.

I have observed, That my Noble Lord has always had an aversion to that kind of Policy, that now is commonly practised in the world, which in plain tearms is Dissembling, Flattery and Cheating, under the cover of Honesty, Love and Kindness: But I have heard him say, that the best Policy is to act justly, honestly and wisely, and to speak truly; and that the old proverb is true; *To be wise is to be honest:* For, said he, That man of what Condition, Quality or Profession soever, that is once found out to deceive either in words or actions, shall never be trusted again by wise and honest men. But, said he, A wise

man is not bound to take notice of all Dissemblers, and their cheating Actions, if they do not concern him; nay, even of those he would not always take notice, but chuse his time; for the chief part of a wise man is to time business well, and to do it without Partiality and Passion. But, said he, The folly of the world is so great, that one honest and wise man may be overpowred by many Knaves and Fools; and if so, then the onely benefit of a wise man consists in the satisfaction he finds by his honest and wise actions, and that he has done what in Conscience, Honour and Duty he ought to do; and all successors of such worthy Persons ought to be more satisfied in the worth and merit of their Predecessours, then in their Title and Riches.

IV.

I have heard that some noble Gentleman, (who was servant to His Highness then Prince of *Wales*, our now Gracious Soveraign, when my Lord was Governour) should relate, that whensoever my Lord by his prudent inspection and foresight did foretell what would come to pass hereafter; it seemed so improbable to him, that both himself and some others believed my Lord spoke extravagantly: But some few years after, his predictions proved true, and the event did confirm what his Prudence had observed.

V.

I have heard, That in our late Civil Warres there were many petty Skirmishes, and Forti-

fications of weak and inconsiderable Houses, where some small Parties would be shooting and pottering at each other; an action more proper for Bandites or Thieves, then stout and valiant Soldiers; for I have heard my Lord say, That such small Parties divide the Body of an Army, and by that means weaken it; whereas the business might be much easier decided in one or two Battels, with less ruine both to the Country and Army: For I have heard my Lord say, That as it is dangerous to divide a Limb from the Body; so it is also dangerous to divide Armies or Navies in time of Warr; and there are often more men lost in such petty Skirmishes, then in set-Battels, by reason those happen almost every day, nay every hour in several places.

VI.

Many in our late Civil-Warres, had more Title then Power; for though they were Generals, or chief Commanders, yet their Forces were more like a Brigade, then a well-formed Army; and their actions were accordingly, not set-battels, but petty Skirmishes between small Parties; for there were no great Battels fought, but by my Lord's Army, his being the greatest and best-formed Army which His Majesty had.

VII.

Although I have observed, That it is a usual Custom of the World, to glorifie the present Power and good Fortune, and vilifie ill Fortune and low conditions; yet I never

heard that my Noble Lord was ever neglected by the generality; but was on the contrary, alwayes esteemed and praised by all; for he is truly an Honest and Honourable man, and one that may be relied upon both for Trust and Truth.

VIII.

I have observed, That many instead of great Actions, make onely a great Noise, and like shallow Fords, or empty Bladders, sound most when there is least in them; which expresses a flattering Partiality, rather then Honesty and Truth; for Truth and Honesty lye at the bottom; and have more Action then Shew.

IX.

I have observed, That good Fortune adds Fame to mean Actions, when as ill Fortune darkens the splendor of the most meritorious; for mean Persons plyed with good Fortune, are more famous then Noble Persons that are shadowed or darkned with ill Fortune; so that Fortune, for the most part, is Fame's Champion.

X.

I observe, That as it would be a grief to covetous and miserable persons, to be rewarded with Honour, rather then with Wealth, because they love Wealth, before Honour and Fame; so on the other side, Noble, Heroick and Meritorious Persons, prefer Honour and Fame before Wealth; well knowing, That as Infamy is the greatest Punishment of unworthiness, so Fame and

Honour is the best Reward of worth and merit.

XI.

I observe, that spleen and malice, especially in this age, is grown to that height, that none will endure the praise of any body besides themselves; nay, they'l rather praise the wicked then the good; the Coward rather then the Valiant; the Miserable then the Generous; the Traytor, then the Loyal: which makes Wise men meddle as little with the Affairs of the world as ever they can.

XII.

I have observed, as well as former Ages have done, That Meritorious persons, for their noble actions, most commonly get Envy and Reproach, instead of Praise and Reward; unless their Fortunes be above Envy, as *Cæsar's* and *Alexander's* were; But had these two Worthies been as Unfortunate as they were Fortunate, they would have been as much vilified, as they are glorified.

XIII.

I have observed, that it is more easie to talk, then to act; to forget, then to remember; to punish, then to reward; and more common to prefer Flattery before Truth, Interest before Justice, and present service before past.

XIV.

I have observed, that many old Proverbs are very true, and amongst the rest, this:

It is better to be at the latter end of a Feast, then at the beginning of a Fray; for most commonly, those that are in the beginning of a Fray, get but little of the Feast, and those that have undergone the greatest dangers, have least of the spoils.

XV.

I have observed, That Favours of Great Princes make men often thought Meritorious; whereas without them, they would be esteemed but as ordinary Persons.

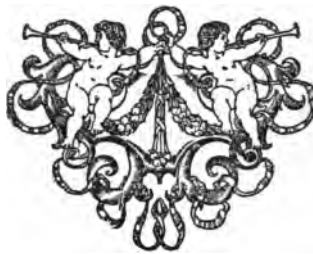
XVI.

I observe, That in other Kingdoms or Countries, to be the chief Governour of a Province, is not onely a place of Honour, but much Profit; for they have a great Revenue to themselves; whereas in *England*, the Lieutenancy of a County is barely a Title of Honour, without Profit; except it be the Lieutenancy or Government of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; especially since the late Earl of *Stafford* enjoyed that dignity, who setled that Kingdom very wisely both for Militia and Trade.

XVII.

I have observed, That those that meddle least in Wars, whether Civil or Foreign, are not onely most safe and free from danger, but most secure from Losses; and though Heroick Persons esteem Fame before Life, yet many there are, that think the wisest way is to be a Spectator, rather then an

Actor, unless they be necessitated to it; for it is better, say they, to sit on the Stool of Quiet, then in the Chair of Troublesome Business.



FINIS.

A TRUE RELATION

OF THE

Birth, Breeding, and Life,

OF

MARGARET CAVENDISH,

DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE.

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

WITH A

Critical Preface, &c.

BY

SIR EGERTON BRYDGES, M.P.

"What taste, and elegance, and genius does,
Still savours something greater than its place,
However low, or high."—*Shakesp.*

"Though Fortune, visible an enemy,
Should chase a virtuous pair, no jot of power
Hath she to change their loves."—*Ibid.*

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Sir Egerton Brydges' Preface

AUTO-BIOGRAPHY is so attractive, that in whatever manner it is executed, it seldom fails both to entertain and instruct. The Memoirs of *Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle*, written by herself, appear to me very eminently to possess this double merit. Whether they confirm or refute the character of the literary and moral qualities of her Grace given by Lord Orford, I must leave the reader to judge. The simplicity by which they are marked will, in minds constituted like that of the noble critic, seem to approximate to folly: others, less inclined to sarcasm, and less infected with an artificial taste, will probably think far otherwise.

That the Duchess was deficient in a cultivated judgment; that her knowledge was more multifarious than exact; and that her powers of fancy and sentiment were more active than her powers of reasoning, I will admit: but that her productions, mingled as they are with great absurdities, are wanting either in talent, or in virtue, or even in genius, I cannot concede.

There is an ardent ambition, which may perhaps itself be considered to prove superiority of intellect. "I fear my ambition,"

says the Duchess, "inclines to vain-glory; for I am very ambitious; yet 'tis neither for beauty, wit, titles, wealth, or power, but as they are steps to raise me to Fancy's Tower, which is to live by remembrance in after-ages!" In another place she exhibits traits of herself, such as generally accompany genius. "I was addicted," her Grace observes, "from my childhood to contemplation, rather then conversation; to solitariness, rather then society; to melancholy rather then mirth; to write with the pen then to work with the needle, passing my time with harmless fancies, their company being pleasing, their conversation innocent, in which I take such pleasure, as I neglect my health; for it is as great a grief to neglect their society, as a joy to be in their company." Again, she says: "my disposition is more inclining to melancholy then merry; but not crabbed or peevish melancholy, but soft, melting, solitary, and contemplating melancholy; and I am apt to weep rather than laugh."

Perhaps, however, it will be impossible to acquit the Duchess of vanity, as well as ambition, if it be vanity to indulge a too general and indiscriminate love of distinction; and to expatiate with too much minuteness about oneself. Some of these minutiæ now afford amusement, arising from other pretensions than those with which they were written.

Her Grace was the companion of the Duke's misfortunes, the solace of his exile, the sharer of his poverty. In these gloomy days she had less opportunity of being

acquainted with the splendour of courts, and the characters and manners of men eminent on the theatre of practical life, than with the scenes and actions of her own lonely imagination. We do not, therefore, find this Memoir full of anecdote, or history, or political delineation. It is all domestic; and this domestic painting is its charm.

If the Duchess herself were out of the question, it is not uninteresting to have such a circumstantial account of the rest of the noble family of LUCAS. Whether their mode of life be considered as common to others of their rank, or peculiar to themselves, the picture is pleasing and instructive. The mother's character excites respect and affection. The bursting of the storms of civil war upon those days of peace, and virtue, and plenty, which smiled so treacherously on the youth of the Duchess, is truly affecting. "In such misfortunes," says her Grace, "my mother was of an heroick spirit, in suffering patiently where there is no remedy; or to be industrious where she thought she could help. She was of a grave behaviour, and had such a majestick grandeur, as it were continually hung about her, that it would strike a kind of awe to the beholders, and command respect from the rudest." "She lived to see the ruin of her children, in which was her ruin, and then died!"—"Not onely the family I am linked to is ruined, but the family from which I sprung, by these unhappy wars."

At pp. 218 and 219, the Duchess has given with exquisite *naïveté* the account of her own

going into the world, as maid of honour to the Queen, when the Court was at Oxford, and her subsequent attachment and marriage to the Duke, then Marquis of Newcastle. Not long after their marriage, the loss of the battle of Marston-moor drove them into exile. They moved from Paris to Holland, whence necessity forced the Duchess to come to England to solicit relief out of the Duke's immense estates, which the prevailing Powers had seized.

Her Grace remained a year and half in England, during which she wrote her "*Poems*," and her "*Philosophical Fancies*;" to which she made large additions after she returned abroad. After her return also she wrote the volume from which this "*Life*" is extracted; and another book. Her "*World's Olio*" was, for the most part, written before she went to England.

In this exile, and under the disappointment of her ineffectual efforts for relief, she says, "Heaven hitherto hath kept us, and though Fortune hath been cross, yet we do submit, and are both content with what is, and cannot be mended; and are so prepared, that the worst of fortunes shall not afflict our minds, so as to make us unhappy, howsoever it doth pinch our lives with poverty; for, if tranquillity lives in an honest mind, the mind lives in peace, although the body suffer."

What can be more amiable and virtuous, than a resort to the consolations of literature in such a state? After the enjoyment of high and flattering rank, and splendid for-

tune, noble is the spirit that will not be broken by the gripe of Poverty, the expulsion from home, and kindred, and friends, and the desertion of the world! Under the blighting gloom of such oppression to create wealth and a kingdom "within the mind," shews an intellectual energy, which ought not to be defrauded of its praise.

After the Restoration, peace and affluence once more shone upon them amid the long-lost domains of the Duke's vast hereditary property. Welbeck opened her gates to her Lord; and the castles of the North received with joy their heroic chieftain, whose maternal ancestors, the baronial house of OGLE, had ruled over them for centuries in Northumberland. But Age had now made the Duke desirous only of repose; and her Grace, the faithful companion of his fallen fortunes, was little disposed to quit the luxurious quiet of rural grandeur, which was as soothing to her disposition, as it was concordant with her duty. To such a pair the noisy and intoxicated joy of a profligate court would probably have been a thousand times more painful than all the wants of their late chilling, but calm, poverty. They came not, therefore, to palaces and levees; but amused themselves in the country with literature and the arts. This solitary state, this innocent magnificence, seems to have afforded contempt and jests to the sophisticated mob of dissolute wits, who crowded round King Charles II. These momentary buzzers in the artificial sunshine of the regal presence, probably thought that they, who

having the power to mix with superior wealth, in the busy scenes of high life, could prefer the insipid charms of lonely Nature, were only fit to be the butt of their ridicule! It is probable that the memory of these witticisms might not have entirely faded before the early years of the late Lord Orford, who might have caught the mantle of these spritely oracles, and have pronounced on the poor Duchess's character and amusements in a similar tone.

Still I must not permit myself to be so far heated by my subject, as to surrender the advantages of a just but candid discrimination. Her Grace had, as I conceive, talents, as well as virtues, which raised her above the multitude, much higher than her rank. Her powers, with the aid of a little more arrangement, of something more of scholastic polish, and of a moderate exertion of maturer judgment, might have produced writings, which posterity would have esteemed both for their instruction and amusement. But I must admit that she wanted the primary qualities of genius. She was neither sublime nor pathetic. She had not the talent of seizing that *selection* of circumstances, of touching by a few single strokes those chords, which, through the force of association in our ideas, calls up at once whole pictures! Imitators, and they whose poetical faculties are not genuine, multiply images, by which, while they think they are excelling their models, destroy the whole charm.

Her Grace wanted taste; she knew not what to obtrude, and what to leave out. She

pours forth every thing with an undistinguishing hand, and mixes the serious, the colloquial, and even the vulgar, in a manner which cannot be defended. In the "*Life*," however, now reprinted, this great fault is less apparent than in any other of her compositions.

But we must not compare these compositions with the more refined exactness of later times. In those days what female writer was there, who could endure the critical acumen of the present period? Who now reads Mrs. Katharine Phillips, better known by her poetical name of *Orinda?* And Mrs. Behn, who lived somewhat later, is more remarkable for her licentiousness than for any better quality. Even of Mrs. Killegrew, the encomium bestowed by Dr. Johnson is generally thought to be undeserved. The Countess of Pembroke, Lady Carew, Lady Wrothe, and a few others succeeded; but their productions are now unnoticed, except by a few black-letter literati.

A True Relation of my Birth, Breeding, and Life

By Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle

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A True Relation of my Birth, Breeding, and Life

By Margaret, Duchess of Newcaſtle

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MY father was a Gentleman, which Title is grounded and given by Merit, not by princes ; and 'tis the act of Time, not Favour : and though my Father was not a Peer of the Realm, yet there were few Peers who had much greater Estates, or lived more noble therewith : yet at that time great Titles were to be sold, and not at so high rates, but that his Estate might have easily purchased, and was prest for to take ; but my Father did not esteem Titles, unless they were gained by Heroick Actions ; and the Kingdome being in a happy Peace with all other Nations, and in itself being governed by a wise King, King James, there was no Employments for heroick Spirits ; and towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeths reign, as soon as he came to Mans estate, he unfortunately fortunately killed one Mr. Brooks in a single Duel ; for my father by the Laws of Honour could do no less then call him to the field, to question him for an injury he did him, where their Swords were to dispute, and one or both of their lives to decide the argument, wherein my Father had the better ; and though my Father by Honour challengd him, with Valour fought him, and in Justice killed him, yet he suffered

more then any Person of Quality usually doth in cases of Honour; for though the Laws be rigorous, yet the present Princes most commonly are gratious in those misfortunes, especially to the injured: but my Father found it not, for his exile was from the time of his misfortunes to Queen Elizabeths death; for the Lord Cobham being then a great man with Queen Elizabeth, and this Gentleman, Mr. Brooks, a kind of a Favourite, and as I take it Brother to the then L. Cobham, which made Queen Elizabeth so severe, not to pardon him: but King James of blessed memory graciously gave him his Pardon, and leave to return home to his Native Country, wherein he lived happily, and died peaceably, leaving a Wife and eight Children, three Sons, and five Daughters, I being the youngest Child he had, and an Infant when he died.

As for my breeding, it was according to my Birth, and the Nature of my Sex; for my Birth was not lost in my Breeding, for as my Sisters was or had been bred, so was I in Plenty, or rather with superfluity; Likewise we were bred Virtuously, Modestly, Civilly, Honourably, and on honest principles: as for plenty, we had not only, for Necessity, Conveniency, and Decency, but for delight and pleasure to a superfluity; 'tis true we did not riot, but we lived orderly; for riot, even in Kings' Courts and Princes' Palaces, brings ruin without content or pleasure, when order in less fortunes shall live more plentifully and deliciously then Princes, that lives in a hurlieburlie, as I may terme it, in which they are seldom well served, for

disorder obstructs; besides, it doth disgust life, distract the appetites, and yield no true relish to the sences; for Pleasure, Delight, Peace and Felicitie, live in method and temperance.

As for our garments, my Mother did not only delight to see us neat and cleanly, fine and gay, rich and costly; maintaining us to the height of her estate, but not beyond it; for we were so far from being in debt, before these warrs, as we were rather beforehand with the world; buying all with ready money, not on the score; for although after my fathers death the Estate was divided between my Mother and her Sonns, paying such a sum of money for Portions to her Daughters, either at the day of their marriage, or when they should come to age; yet by reason she and her children agreed with a mutual consent, all their affairs were managed so well, as she lived not in a much lower condition than when my father lived; 'tis true, my mother might have increast her daughters Portions by a thrifty sparing, yet she chose to bestow it on our breeding, honest pleasures, and harmless delights, out of an opinion, that if she bred us with needy necessitie, it might chance to create in us sharking quallities, mean thoughts, and base actions, which she knew my Father, as well as herself did abhor: likewise we were bred tenderly, for my Mother Naturally did strive, to please and delight her children, not to cross or torment them, terrifying them with threats, or lashing them with slavish whips, but instead of threats, reason

was used to persuade us, and instead of lashes, the deformities of vice was discovered, and the graces and virtues were presented unto us, also we were bred with respectful attendance, every one being severally waited upon, and all her servants in generall used the same respect to her children, (even those that were very young) as they did to her self; for she sufferd not her servants, either to be rude before us, or to domineer over us, which all vulgar servants are apt, and ofttimes which some have leave to do; likewise she never suffered the vulgar Servingmen to be in the Nursery among the Nurse-Maids, lest their rude love-making might do unseemly actions, or speak unhandsome words in the presence of her children, knowing that youth is apt to take infection by ill examples, having not the reason of distinguishing good from bad, neither were we sufferd to have any familiaritie with the vulgar servants, or conversation: yet caused us to demean our selves with an humble civillity towards them, as they with a dutifull respect to us, not because they were servants were we so reserved; for many Noble Persons are forced to serve through necessitie; but by reason the vulgar sort of servants, are as ill bred as meanly born, giving children ill examples, and worse counsel.

As for tutors, although we had for all sorts of vertues, as singing, dancing, playing on musick, reading, writing, working, and the like, yet we were not kept strictly thereto, they were rather for formality then benefit, for my Mother cared not so much for our

dancing and fidling, singing and prating of severall languages, as that we should be bred virtuously, modestly, civilly, honourably, and on honest principles.

As for my Brothers, of which I had three, I know not how they were bred, first, they were bred when I was not capable to observe, or before I was born; likewise the breeding of men were after different manner of ways from those of women: but this I know, that they loved Virtue, endeavoured Merit, practic'd Justice, and spoke Truth; they were constantly loyal, and truly Valiant; two of my three Brothers were excellent Soldiers, and Martial Discipliners, being practised therein, for though they might have lived upon their own Estates very honourably, yet they rather chose to serve in the Wars under the States of Holland, than to live idly at home in Peace: my Brother, Sir Thomas Lucas, there having a Troop of Horse; my Brother, the youngest Sir Charls Lucas serving therein: but he served the States not long, for after he had been at the siege and taking of some Towns, he returned home again; and though he had the less experience, yet he was like to have proved the better Soldier, if better could have been, for naturally he had a practick Genius to the warlike arts, or Arts in War, as Natural Poets have to Poetry: but his life was cut off before he could arrive to the true perfection thereof; yet he writ "A Treatise of the Arts in War," but by reason it was in characters, and the key thereof lost, we cannot as yet understand any thing therein,

at least not so as to divulge it. My other Brother, the Lord Lucas, who was Heir to my Fathers estate, and as it were the Father to take care of us all, is not less Valiant then they were, although his skill in the Discipline of War was not so much, being not bred therein, yet he had more skill in the use of the Sword, and is more learned in other Arts and Sciences then they were, he being a great Scholar, by reason he is given much to studious contemplation.

Their practice was, when they met together, to exercise themselves with fencing, wrestling, shooting, and such like exercises, for I observed they did seldome hawk or hunt, and very seldom or never dance, or play on musick, saying it was too effeminate for Masculine Spirits; neither had they skill, or did use to play, for ought I could hear, at Cards or Dice, or the like Games, nor given to any vice, as I did know, unless to love a mistress were a crime, not that I know any they had, but what report did say, and usually reports are false, at least exceed the truth.

As for the pastimes of my Sisters when they were in the country, it was to reade, work, walk, and discourse with each other; for though two of my three brothers were married, my Brother the Lord Lucas to a virtuous and beautiful Lady, daughter to Sir Christopher Nevil, son to the Lord Abergavenny, and my brother Sir Thomas Lucas to a virtuous lady of an ancient family, one Sir John Byron's Daughter; likewise, three of my four sisters, one married Sir Peter Kille-

grew, the other Sir William Walter, the third Sir Edmund Pye, the fourth as yet unmarried, yet most of them lived with my mother, especially when she was at her country-house, living most commonly at London half the year, which is the Metropolitan city of England: but when they were at London, they were dispersed into several houses of their own, yet for the most part they met every day, feasting each other like Job's Children. But this unnatural War came like a whirlwind, which fell'd down their Houses, where some in the Wars were crusht to death, as my youngest brother Sir Charls Lucas, and my Brother Sir Thomas Lucas; and though my Brother Sir Thomas Lucas died not immediately of his wounds, yet a wound he received on his head in Ireland short'ned his life.

But to rehearse their Recreations. Their customs were in Winter time to go sometimes to Plays, or to ride in their Coaches about the Streets to see the concourse and recourse of People; and in the Spring time to visit the Spring-garden, Hide-park, and the like places; and sometimes they would have Musick, and sup in Barges upon the Water; these harmless recreations they would pass their time away with; for I observed, they did seldom make Visits, nor never went abroad with Strangers in their Company, but onely themselves in a Flock together agreeing so well, that there seemed but one Minde amongst them: And not onely my own Brothers and Sisters agreed so, but my Brothers and Sisters in law, and

their Children, although but young, had the like agreeable natures, and affectionable dispositions; for to my best remembrance I do not know that ever they did fall out, or had any angry or unkind disputes. Likewise, I did observe, that my Sisters were so far from mingling themselves with any other Company, that they had no familiar conversation or intimate aquaintance with the Families to which each other were linkt to by Marriage, the Family of the one being as great Strangers to the rest of my brothers and Sisters, as the Family of the other.

But sometime after this War began, I knew not how they lived; for though most of them were in Oxford, wherein the King was, yet after the Queen went from Oxford, and so out of England, I was parted from them; for when the Queen was in Oxford, I had a great desire to be one of her Maids of honour, hearing the Queen had not the same number she was used to have, whereupon I wooed and won my Mother to let me go; for my Mother, being fond of all her Children, was desirous to please them, which made her consent to my request. But my Brothers and Sisters seem'd not very well pleas'd, by reason I had never been from home, nor seldome out of their sight; for though they knew I would not behave my self to their, or my own dishonour, yet they thought I might to my disadvantage, being unexperienced in the World, which indeed I did, for I was so bashfull when I was out of my Mother's, Brothers, and Sisters sight, whose presence used to give me confidence,

thinking I could not do amiss whilst any one of them were by, for I knew they would gently reform me if I did; besides, I was ambitious they should approve of my actions and behaviour, that when I was gone from them, I was like one that had no Foundation to stand, or Guide to direct me, which made me afraid, lest I should wander with Ignorance out of the waies of Honour, so that I knew not how to behave myself. Besides, I had heard that the World was apt to lay aspersions even on the innocent, for which I durst neither look up with my eyes, nor speak, nor be any way sociable, insomuch as I was thought a Natural Fool; indeed I had not much Wit, yet I was not an Idiot, my wit was according to my years; and though I might have learnt more Wit, and advanced my Understanding by living in a Court, yet being dull, fearfull, and bashfull, I neither heeded what was said or practic'd, but just what belong'd to my loyal duty, and my own honest reputation; and, indeed, I was so afraid to dishonour my Friends and Family by my indiscreet actions, that I rather chose to be accounted a Fool, then to be thought rude or wanton; in truth, my bashfulness and fears made me repent my going from home to see the World abroad, and much I did desire to return to my Mother again, or to my sister Pye, with whom I often lived when she was in London, and loved with a supernatural affection: but my Mother advised me there to stay, although I put her to more charges than if she had kept me at home, and the more, by reason she and

my Brothers were sequestered from their Estates, and plundered of all their Goods, yet she maintained me so, that I was in a condition rather to lend then to borrow, which Courtiers usually are not, being always necessitated by reason of great expenses Courts put them to. But my Mother said, it would be a disgrace for me to return out of the Court so soon after I was placed; so I continued almost two years, until such time as I was married from thence; for my Lord the Marquis of Newcastle did approve of those bashful fears which many condemn'd, and would choose such a Wife as he might bring to his own humours, and not such an one as was wedded to self-conceit, or one that had been temper'd to the humours of another; for which he wooed me for his Wife; and though I did dread Marriage, and shunn'd mens companies as much as I could, yet I could not, nor had not the power to refuse him, by reason my Affections were fix'd on him, and he was the onely Person I ever was in love with: Neither was I ashamed to own it, but gloried therein, for it was not Amorous Love, I never was infected therewith, it is a Disease, or a Passion, or both, I only know by relation, not by experience; neither could Title, Wealth, Power, or Person entice me to love; but my Love was honest and honourable, being placed upon Merit, which Affection joy'd at the fame of his Worth, pleas'd with delight in his Wit, proud of the respects he used to me, and triumphing in the affections he profest for me, which affections he hath

confirmed to me by a deed of time, seal'd by constancy, and assigned by an unalterable decree of his promise; which makes me happy in despight of Fortune's frowns; for though Misfortunes may and do oft dissolve base, wilde, loose, and ungrounded affections, yet she hath no power of those that are united either by Merit, Justice, Gratitude, Duty, Fidelity, or the like; and though my Lord hath lost his Estate, and banish'd out of his Country for his Loyalty to his King and Country, yet neither despised Poverty, nor pinching Necessity could make him break the Bonds of Friendship, or weaken his Loyal Duty to his King or Country.

But not onely the family I am linkt to is ruin'd, but the Family from which I sprung, by these unhappy Wars; which ruine my Mother lived to see, and then died, having lived a Widow many years, for she never forgot my Father so as to marry again; indeed, he remain'd so lively in her memory, and her grief was so lasting, as she never mention'd his name, though she spoke often of him, but love and grief caused tears to flow, and tender sighs to rise, mourning in sad complaints; she made her house her Cloyster, inclosing herself, as it were therein, for she seldom went abroad, unless to Church; but these unhappy Wars forc'd her out, by reason she and her children were loyall to the King; for which they plundered her and my Brothers of all their Goods, Plate, Jewels, Money, Corn, Cattle, and the like, cut down their Woods, pull'd down their Houses, and sequestered them from

their Lands and Livings; but in such misfortunes my Mother was of an heroick spirit, in suffering patiently where there is no remedy, or to be industrious where she thought she could help: She was of a grave Behaviour, and had such a Majestic Grandeur, as it were continually hung about her, that it would strike a kind of an awe to the beholders, and command respect from the rudest; I mean the rudest of civiliz'd people, I mean not such Barbarous people as plundered her, and used her cruelly, for they would have pulled God out of Heaven, had they had power, as they did Royaltie out of his Throne: also her beauty was beyond the ruin of time, for she had a well favoured loveliness in her face, a pleasing sweetness in her countenance, and a well-temper'd complexion, as neither too red nor too pale, even to her dying hour, although in years, and by her dying, one might think death was enamoured with her, for he imbraced her in a sleep, and so gently, as if he were afraid to hurt her: also she was an affectionate Mother, breeding her children with a most industrious care, and tender love, and having eight children, three sons and five daughters, there was not any one crooked, or any ways deformed, neither were they dwarfish, or of a Giant-like stature, but every ways proportionable; likewise well featured, cleer complexions, brown haires, but some lighter than others, sound teeth, sweet breaths, plain speeches, tunable voices, I mean not so much to sing as in speaking, as not stuttering, nor wharling in the throat, or speaking through

the nose, or hoarsly, unless they had a cold, or squeakingly, which impediments many have: neither were their voices of too low a strain, or too high, but their notes and words were tuneable and timely: I hope this Truth will not offend my Readers, and lest they should think I am a partial Register, I dare not commend my Sisters, as to say they were handsome; although many would say they were very handsome: but this I dare say, their Beautie, if any they had, was not so lasting as my Mothers, Time making suddener ruin in their faces than in hers; likewise my Mother was a good Mistriss to her servants, taking care of her servants in their sickness, not sparing any cost she was able to bestow for their recovery: neither did she exact more from them in their health then what they with ease or rather like pastime could do: she would freely pardon a fault, and forget an injury, yet sometimes she would be angry; but never with her children, the sight of them would pacify her, neither would she be angry with others, but when she had cause, as with negligent or knavish servants, that would lavishly or unnecessarily waste, or subtily, and thievishly steal, and though she would often complain that her family was too great for her weak Management, and often prest my Brother to take it upon him, yet I observe she took a pleasure, and some little pride, in the governing thereof: she was very skilful in Leases, and setting of lands, and Court-keeping, ordering of Stewards, and the like affairs: also I observed, that my mother, nor Brothers, before these wars, had ever any Law-suites,

but what an Attorney dispatched in a Term with small cost, but if they had, it was more than I knew of, but, as I said, my Mother lived to see the ruin of her children, in which was her ruin, and then dyed: my brother Sir Thomas Lucas soon after, my brother Sir Charles Lucas after him, being shot to death for his loyall Service, for he was most constantly Loyal and Courageously active, indeed he had a superfluity of courage; My eldest sister died sometime before my Mother, her death being, as I believe, hastned through grief of her onely daughter, on which she doted, being very pretty, sweet natured, and had an extraordinary wit for her age, she dying of a Consumption, my sister, her Mother, died some half a year after of the same disease, and though time is apt to waste remembrance as a consumptive body, or to wear it out like a garment into raggs, or to moulder it into dust; yet I find the naturall affections I have for my friends, are beyond the length, strength, and power of time: for I shall lament the loss so long as I live, also the loss of my Lords noble Brother, which died not long after I returned from England, he being then sick of an Ague, whose favours and my thankfulness, ingratitude shall never disjoyne; for I will build his Monument of truth, though I cannot of Marble, and hang my tears and Scutchions on his Tombe. He was nobly generous, wisely valliant, naturally civill, honestly kind, truly loving, Virtuously temperate; his promise was like a fixt decree, his words were destiny, his life was holy, his disposition milde, his behaviour

courteous, his discourse pleasing, he had a ready wit and a spacious knowledge, a settled judgment, a cleer understanding, a rationall insight; he was learned in all Arts and Sciences, but especially in the Mathematicks, in which study he spent most part of his time; and though his tongue preacht not Moral Philosophy, yet his life taught it, indeed he was such a person, that he might have been a pattern for all Mankind to take: he loved my Lord his brother with a doting affection, as my Lord did him, for whose sake I suppose he was so nobly generous, carefully kind, and respectfull to me; for I dare not challenge his favours as to my self, having not merits to deserve them, he was for a time the preserver of my life, for after I was married some two or three years, my Lord travell'd out of France, from the City of Paris, in which City he resided the time he was there, so went into Holland, to a Town called Rotterdam, in which place he stayed some six months; from thence he returned to Brabant, unto the City of Antwerp, which city we past through, when we went into Holland, and in that City my Lord settled himself and Family, choosing it for the most pleasantest, and quietest place to retire himself and ruined fortunes in: but after we had remain'd some time therein, we grew extremely necessitated, Tradesmen being there not so rich as to trust my Lord for so much, or so long, as those of France; yet they were so civill, kind and charitable, as to trust him, for as much as they were able; but at last necessity inforced me to return

into England to seek for reliefe; for I hearing my Lord's Estate amongst the rest of many more estates, was to be sold, and that the wives of the owners should have an allowance therefrom, it gave me hopes I should receive a benefit thereby; so being accompanied with my Lords only brother Sir Charles Cavendish, who was commanded to return, to live therein, or to lose his Estate, which Estate he was forced to buy with a great Composition before he could enjoy any part thereof; so over I went, but when I came there I found their hearts as hard as my fortunes, and their Natures as cruel as my miseries, for they sold all my Lords Estate, which was a very great one, and gave me not any part thereof, or any allowance thereout, which few or no other was so hardly dealt withall; indeed, I did not stand as a beggar at the Parliament doore, for I never was at the Parliamente House, nor stood I ever at the doore, as I do know, or can remember, I am sure, not as a Petitioner, neither did I haunt the Committees, for I never was at any, as a Petitioner, but one in my life, which was called Gold-smith's-Hall, but I received neither gold nor silver from them, only an absolute refusall, I should have no share of my Lords Estate; for my brother, the Lord Lucas, did claim in my behalf such a part of my Lords Estate as wives had allowed them, but they told him, that by reason I was married since my Lord was made a Delinquent, I could have nothing, nor should have any thing, he being the greatest Traitor to the State, which was to

be the most loyall Subject to his King and Country: but I whisperingly spoke to my brother to conduct me out of that ungentlemanly place, so without speaking to them one word good or bad, I returned to my Lodgings, & as that Committee was the first, so was it the last, I ever was at as a Petitioner; 'tis true I went sometimes to Drury House to inquire how the land was sold, but no other ways, although some reported I was at the Parliament House, and at this Committee and at that Committee, and what I should say, and how I was answered; but the Customes of England being changed as well as the Laws, where Women become Pleaders, Attornies, Petitioners and the like, running about with their several Causes, complaining of their severall grievances, exclaiming against their severall enemies, bragging of their severall favours they receive from the powerfull; thus Trafficing with idle words bring in false reports and vain discourse; for the truth is, our Sex doth nothing but justle for the Preheminence of words, I mean not for speaking well, but speaking much, as they do for the preheminence of place, words rushing against words, thwarting and crossing each other, and pulling with reproches, striving to throw each other down with disgrace, thinking to advance themselves thereby; but if our Sex would but well consider, and rationally ponder, they will perceive and finde, that it is neither words nor place that can advance them, but worth and merit: nor can words or place disgrace them, but inconstancy and boldness: for an honest

Heart, a noble Soul, a chaste Life, and a true speaking Tongue, is the Throne, Sceptre, Crown, and Footstoole, that advances them to an honourable renown, I mean not Noble, Virtuous, Discreet, and worthy Persons, whom necessity did enforce to submit, comply, and follow their own suites, but such as had nothing to lose, but made it their trade to solicite; but I dispairing being positively denied at Goldsmiths Hall,—besides I had a firm faith, or strong opinion, that the pains was more than the gains, and being unpractised in publick employments, unlearned in their uncouth Ways, ignorant of the Humours and Dispositions of those persons to whom I was to address my suit, and not knowing where the Power lay, and being not a good flatterer, I did not trouble myself or petition my enemies; besides I am naturally Bashful, not that I am ashamed of my minde or body, my Birth or Breeding, my Actions or Fortunes, for my Bashfulness is in my Nature, not for any crime, and though I have strived and reasoned with myself, yet that which is inbred, I find is difficult to root out, but I do not find that my Bashfulness is concerned with the Qualities of the Persons, but the number, for were I enter amongst a company of Lazarouses, I should be as much out of countenance, as if they were all Cesars or Alexanders, Cleopatras or Queen Didoes; neither do I find my Bashfulness riseth so often in Blushes, as contracts my Spirits to a chill paleness, but the best of it is, most commonly it soon vanisheth away, and many times before it can be perceived, and the

more foolish, or unworthy, I conceive the company to be, the worse I am, and the best remedy I ever found was, is to persuade myself that all those Persons I meet are wise and vertuous; the reason I take to be is, that the wise and vertuous censure less, excuse most, praise best, esteem rightly, judge justly, behave themselves civilly, demeane themselves respectfully, and speake modestly, when fools or unworthy persons are apt to commit absurdities, as to be bold, rude, uncivill both in words and actions, forgetting or not well understanding themselves, or the company they are with; and though I never met such sorts of ill bred creatures, yet Naturally I have such an Aversion to such kinde of people, as I am afraid to meet them, as children are afraid of spirits, or those that are afraid to see or meet Devills; which makes me think this Naturall defect in me, if it be a defect, is rather a fear than a bashfulness, but whatsoever it is, I find it troublesome, for it hath many times obstructed the passage of my speech, and perturbed my Naturall actions, forcing a constrainedness or unusual motions, but, however, since it is rather a fear of others than a bashfull distrust of my self, I despaire of a perfect cure, unless Nature as well as Human governments could be civilized and brought into a Methodicall order, ruling the words and actions with a supreme power of reason, and the authority of discretion: but a rude nature is worse than a brute nature, by so much more as man is better than beast, but those that are of

civil natures and gentle dispositions, are as much nearer to celestiall creatures, as those that are of rude or cruell are to Devils: but in fine, after I had been in England, a year and a half, in which time I gave some half a score visits, and went with my Lords brother to hear Music in one Mr. Lawes his house, three or four times, as also some three or four times to Hide Park with my sisters, to take the aire, else I never stirr'd out of my lodgings, unless to see my Brothers and Sisters, nor seldom did I dress my self, as taking no delight to adorn my self, since he I onely desired to please was absent, although report did dress me in a hundred severall fashions: 'tis true when I did dress myself, I did endeavour to do it to my best becoming, both in respect to my self and those I went to visit, or chanc't to meet, but after I had been in England a year and a half, part of which time I writ a Book of Poems, and a little Book called my *Philosophical Fancies*, to which I have writ a large addition, since I returned out of England, besides this book and one other: as for my book intitled *The Worlds Ollio*, I writ most part of it before I went into England, but being not of a merry, although not of a froward or peevish disposition, became very Melancholy, by reason I was from my Lord, which made my mind so restless, as it did break my sleeps, and distemper my health, with which growing impatient of a longer delay, I resolved to return, although I was grieved to leave Sir Charles, my Lord's Brother, he being sick of an ague, of which sickness he died: for

though his ague was cur'd, his life was decayed, he being not of a strong constitution could not, as it did prove, recover his health, for the dreggs of his Ague did put out the Lamp of his life, yet Heaven knows I did not think his life was so near to an end, for his Doctor had great hopes of his perfect recovery, and by reason he was to go into the Country for change of aire, where I should have been a trouble, rather than any ways serviceable, besides, more charge the longer I stayd, for which I made the more hast to return to my Lord, with whom I had rather be as a poor begger, than to be Mistress of the world absented from him; yet, Heaven hitherto hath kept us, and though Fortune hath been cross, yet we do submit, and are both content with what is, and cannot be mended, and are so prepared that the worst of fortunes shall not afflict our minds, so as to make us unhappy, howsoever it doth pinch our lives with poverty; for, if Tranquillity lives in an honest mind, the mind lives in Peace, although the body suffer: but Patience hath armed us, and Misery hath tried us, and finds us Fortune-proof, for the truth is, my Lord is a person whose Humour is neither extravagantly merry, nor unnecessarily sad, his Mind is above his Fortune, as his Generosity is above his purse, his Courage above danger, his Justice above bribes, his Friendship above self-interest, his Truth too firm for falsehood, his Temperance beyond temptation, his Conversation is pleasing and affable, his Wit is quick, and his Judgment is strong, distinguishing

cleerly without clouds of mistakes, dissecting truth, so as it justly admits not of disputes: his discourse is always new upon the occasion, without troubling the hearers with old Historicall relations, nor stuft with useless sentences, his behaviour is manly without formallity, and free without constraint, and his minde hath the same freedom: his Nature is noble, and his Disposition sweet, his Loyaltie is proved by his publick service for his King and Countrey, by his often hazarding of his life, by the losse of his Estate, and the banishment of his Person, by his necessitated Condition, and his constant and patient suffering; but, howsoever our fortunes are, we are both content, spending our time harmlessly, for my Lord pleaseth himself with the Management of some few Horses, and exercises himself with the use of the Sword; which two Arts he hath brought by his studious thoughts, rationall experience, and industrious practice, to an absolute perfection: and though he hath taken as much pains in those arts, both by study and practice, as Chimists for the Phylosopher's Stone, yet he hath this advantage of them, that he hath found the right and the truth thereof and therein, which Chimists never found in their Art, and I believe never will: also he recreates himself with his pen, writing what his Wit dictates to him, but I pass my time rather with scribling than writing, with words than wit, not that I speak much, because I am addicted to contemplation, unless I am with my Lord, yet then I rather attentively

listen to what he sayes, than impertinently speak, yet when I am writing, and sad faind Stories, or serious humours, or melancholy passions, I am forc'd many times to express them with the tongue before I can write them with the pen, by reason those thoughts that are sad, serious, and melancholy, are apt to contract and to draw too much back, which oppression doth as it were overpower or smother the conception in the brain, but when some of those thoughts are sent out in words, they give the rest more liberty to place themselves in a more methodicall order, marching more regularly with my pen, on the ground of white paper, but my letters seem rather as a ragged rout, than a well armed body, for the brain being quicker in creating than the hand in writing, or the memory in retaining, many fancies are lost, by reason they ofttimes outrun the pen ; where I, to keep speed in the Race, write so fast as I stay not so long as to write my letters plain, insomuch as some have taken my hand-writing for some strange character, & being accustomed so to do, I cannot now write very plain, when I strive to write my best ; indeed, my ordinary hand-writing is so bad as few can read it, so as to write it fair for the Press, but however, that little wit I have, it delights me to scribble it out, and disperse it about, for I being addicted from my childhood to contemplation rather than conversation, to solitariness rather than society, to melancholy rather than mirth, to write with the pen than to work with a

needle, passing my time with harmeless fancies, their company being pleasing, their conversation innocent, in which I take such pleasure, as I neglect my health, for it is as great a grief to leave their society, as a joy to be in their company, my only trouble is, lest my brain should grow barren, or that the root of my fancies should become insipid, withering into a dull stupidity for want of maturing subjects to write on: for I being of a lazy nature, and not of an active disposition, as some are that love to journey from town to town, from place to place, from house to house, delighting in variety of company, making still one where the greatest number is; likewise in playing at Cards, or any other Games, in which I neither have practised, nor have I any skill therein: as for Dancing, although it be a graceful art, and becometh unmarried persons well, yet for those that are married, it is too light an action, disagreeing with the gravity thereof; and for Revelling I am of too dull a nature, to make one in a merry society; as for Feasting, it would neither agree with my humour or constitution, for my diet is for the most part sparing, as a little boiled chickin, or the like, my drink most commonly water, for though I have an indifferent good appetite, yet I do often fast, out of an opinion that if I should eat much, and exercise little, which I do, onely walking a slow pace in my chamber, whilst my thoughts run apace in my brain, so that the motions of my minde hinders the active exercises of my body: for should

I Dance or Run, or Walk apace, I should Dance my Thoughts out of Measure, Run my Fancies out of Breath, and tread out the Feet of my Numbers, but because I would not bury myself quite from the sight of the world, I go sometimes abroad, seldome to visit, but only in my Coach about the Town, or about some of the streets, which we call here a Tour, where all the chief of the Town goe to see and to be seen, likewise all strangers of what quallity soever, as all great Princes or Queens that make any short stay: for this Town being a passage or thorough-fare to most parts, causeth many times persons of great quallity to be here, though not as inhabitants, yet to lodge for some short time; and all such, as I said, take a delight, or at lest goe to see the custome thereof, which most Cities of note in Europe for all I can hear, hath such like recreations for the effeminate Sex, although for my part I had rather sit at home and write, or walk, as I said, in my chamber and contemplate; but I hold necessary sometimes to appear abroad, besides I do find, that severall objects do bring new materialls for my thoughts and fancies to build upon, yet I must say this in the behalf of my thoughts, that I never found them idle; for if the senses brings no work in, they will work of themselves, like silk-wormes that spinns out of their own bowels; Neither can I say I think the time tedious, when I am alone, so I be near my Lord, and know he is well.

But now I have declared to my Readers, my Birth, Breeding, and Actions, to this part of my Life, I mean the material parts, for should I write every particular, as my childish sports and the like, it would be ridiculous and tedious; but I have been honorably born and Nobly match't; I have been bred to elevated thoughts, not to a dejected spirit, my life hath been ruled with Honesty, attended by Modesty, and directed by Truth: but since I have writ in generall thus far of my life, I think it fit, I should speak something of my Humour, particular Practice and Disposition; as for my Humour, I was from my childhood given to contemplation, being more taken or delighted with thoughts then in conversation with a society, in so much as I would walk two or three hours, and never rest, in a musing, considering, contemplating manner, reasoning with my self of every thing my senses did present, but when I was in the company of my Naturall friends, I was very attentive of what they said or did; but for strangers I regarded not much what they said, but many times I did observe their actions, whereupon my Reason as Judge, and my Thoughts as Accusers, or excusers, or approvers and commenders, did plead, or appeal to accuse, or complain thereto; also I never took delight in closets, or cabinets of toys, but in the variety of fine clothes, and such toys as onely were to adorn my person: likewise I had a naturall stupidity towards the learning of any other Language than my native tongue, for I could sooner

and with more facility understand the sense, then remember the words, and for want of such memory makes me so unlearned in foreign Languages as I am: as for my practise, I was never very active, by reason I was given so much to contemplation; besides my brothers and sisters were for the most part serious, and staid in their actions, not given to sport nor play, nor dance about, whose company I keeping, made me so too: but I observed, that although their actions were stay'd, yet they would be very merry amongst themselves, delighting in each others company: also they would in their Discourse express the generall actions of the world, judging, condemning, approving, commending, as they thought good, and with those that were innocently harmless, they would make themselves merry therewith; as for my studie of books it was little, yet I chose rather to read, than to imploy my time in any other work, or practise, and when I read what I understood not, I would ask my brother, the Lord Lucas, he being learned, the sense or meaning thereof, but my serious study could not be much, by reason I took great delight in attiring, fine dressing, and fashions, especially such fashions as I did invent myself, not taking that pleasure in such fashions as was invented by others: also I did dislike any should follow my Fashions, for I always took delight in a singularity, even in accoutrements of habits, but whatsoever I was addicted to, either in fashion of Cloths,

contemplation of Thoughts, actions of Life, they were Lawful, Honest, Honourable, and Modest, of which I can avouch to the world with a great confidence, because it is a pure Truth; as for my Disposition, it is more inclining to be melancholy than merry, but not crabbed or peevishly melancholy, but soft, melting, solitary, and contemplating melancholy; and I am apt to weep rather than laugh, not that I do often either of them; also I am tender natured, for it troubles my Conscience to kill a fly, and the groans of a dying Beast strike my Soul: also where I place a particular affection, I love extraordinarily and constantly, yet not fondly, but soberly and observingly; not to hang about them as a trouble, but to wait upon them as a servant, but this affection will take no root, but where I think or find merit, and have leave both from Divine and Morall Laws; yet I find this passion so troublesome, as it is the only torment to my life, for fear any evill misfortune or accident, or sickness, or death, should come unto them, insomuch as I am never freely at rest: Likewise I am gratefull, for I never received a curtesie but I am impatient, and troubled untill I can return it; also I am Chaste, both by Nature and Education, insomuch as I do abhorre an unchast thought: likewise I am seldom angry, as my servants may witness for me, for I rather chose to suffer some inconveniences than disturbe my thoughts, which makes me winke many times at their faults; but

when I am angry, I am very angry, but yet it is soon over, and I am easily pacified, if it be not such an injury as may create a hate; neither am I apt to be exceptious or jealous; but if I have the lest symptome of this passion, I declare it to those it concerns, for I never let it ly smothering in my breast to breed a malignant disease in the minde, which might break out into extravagant passions, or railing speeches, or indiscreet actions; but I examin moderately, reason soberly, and plead gently in my own behalf, through a desire to keep those affections I had, or at least thought to have; and truly I am so vain, as to be so self-conceited, or so naturally partial, to think my friends have as much reason to love me as another, since none can love more sincerely than I, and it were an injustice to prefer a fainter affection, or to esteem the Body more than the Minde; likewise I am neither spitefull, envious, nor malicious; I repine not at the gifts that Nature, or Fortune bestows upon others, yet I am a great Emulator; for though I wish none worse than they are, yet it is lawful for me to wish my self the best, and to do my honest endeavour thereunto; for I think it no crime to wish myself the exactest of Natures works, my thred of life the longest, my Chain of Destinie the strongest, my mind the peaceablest; my life the pleasantest, my death the easiest, and the greatest Saint in Heaven; also to do my endeavour, so far as honour and honesty doth allow of, to be the highest

on Fortunes Wheele, and to hold the wheele, from turning, if I can, and if it be commendable to wish anothers good, it were a sin not to wish my own; for as Envie is a vice, so Emulation is a Virtue, but Emulation is in the way to Ambition, or indeed it is a Noble Ambition, but I fear my Ambition inclines to vain-glory, for I am very ambitious; yet 'tis neither for Beauty, Wit, Titles, Wealth, or Power, but as they are steps to raise me to Fames Tower, which is to live by remembrance in after-ages: likewise I am, that the vulgar calls, proud, not out of a self-conceit, or to slight or condemn any, but scorning to do a base or mean act, and disdaining rude or unworthy persons; insomuch, that if I should find any that were rude, or too bold, I should be apt to be so passionate, as to affront them, if I can, unless discretion should get betwixt my passion and their boldness, which sometimes perchance it might, if discretion should croud hard for place; for though I am naturally bashful, yet in such a cause my spirits would be all on fire, otherwise I am so well bred, as to be civill to all persons, of all degrees, or qualities; likewise I am so proud, or rather just to my Lord, as to abate nothing of the qualitie of his Wife, for if honour be the marke of Merit, and his Masters royall favour, who will favour none but those that have Merit to deserve, it were a baseness for me to neglect the Ceremony thereof: Also in some cases I am naturally a Coward, and in other cases very valiant; as for example,

if any of my neerest friends were in danger, I should never consider my life in striving to help them, though I were sure to do them no good, and would willingly, nay cheerfully, resign my life for their sakes: likewise I should not spare my Life, if Honour bids me dye; but in a danger where my Friends, or my Honour is not concerned, or ingaged, but only my Life to be unprofitably lost, I am the veriest coward in Nature, as upon the Sea, or any dangerous places, or of Thieves, or fire, or the like; Nay the shooting of a gun, although but a Pot-gun, will make me start, and stop my hearing, much less have I courage to discharge one; or if a sword should be held against me, although but in jest, I am afraid: also as I am not covetous, so I am not prodigall, but of the two I am inclining to be prodigall, yet I cannot say to a vain prodigallity, because I imagine it is to a profitable end; for perceiving the world is given, or apt to honour the outside more than the inside, worshipping show more then substance; and I am so vain, if it be a Vanity, as to endeavour to be worship't, rather than not to be regarded; yet I shall never be so prodigall as to impoverish my friends, or go beyond the limits or facilitie of our Estate, and though I desire to appear to the best advantage, whilest I live in the view of the public World, yet I could most willingly exclude myself, so as Never to see the face of any creature, but my Lord, as long as I live, inclosing myself like an Anchoret, wearing a Frize gown, tied with

a cord about my waste: but I hope my readers will not think me vain for writing my life, since there have been many that have done the like, as Cesar, Ovid, and many more, both men and women, and I know no reason I may not do it as well as they: but I verily believe some censuring Readers will scornfully say, why hath this Lady writ her own Life? since none cares to know whose daughter she was, or whose wife she is, or how she was bred, or what fortunes she had, or how she lived, or what humour or disposition she was of? I answer that it is true, that 'tis to no purpose to the Readers, but it is to the Authoress, because I write it for my own sake, not theirs; neither did I intend this piece for to delight, but to divulge; not to please the fancy, but to tell the truth, lest after-ages should mistake, in not knowing I was daughter to one Master Lucas of St. Johns, near Colchester, in Essex, second wife to the Lord Marquiss of Newcastle; for my Lord having had two Wives, I might easily have been mistaken, especially if I should dye and my Lord Marry again.

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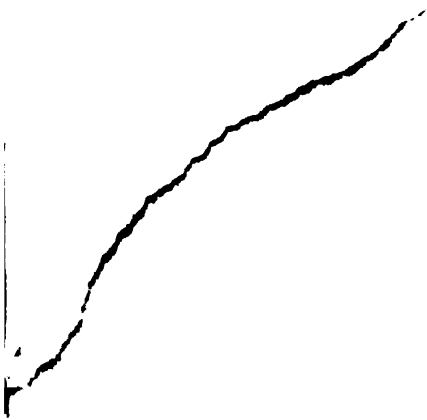

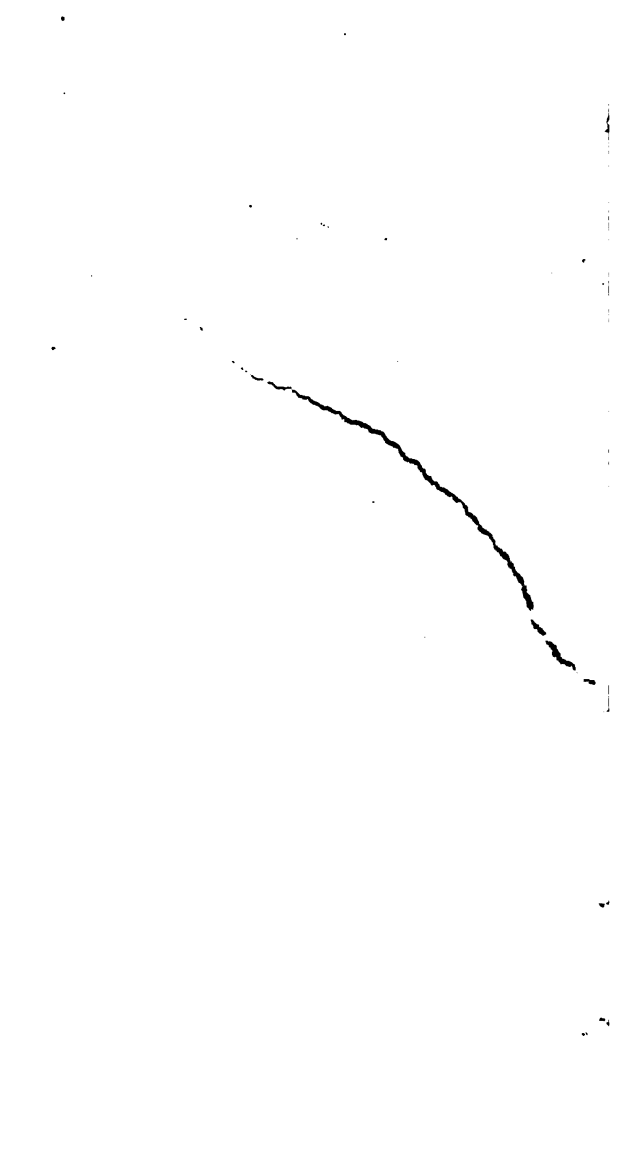

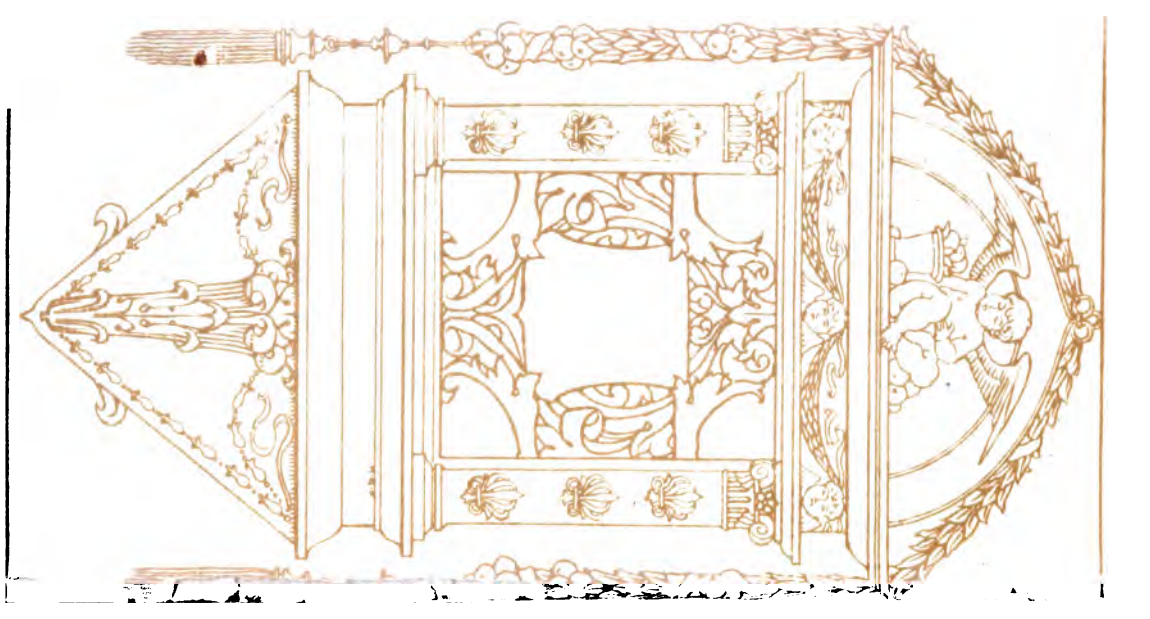

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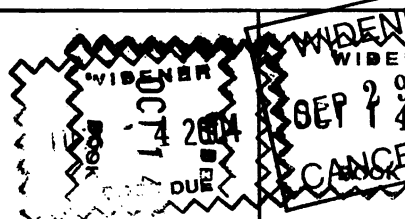

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